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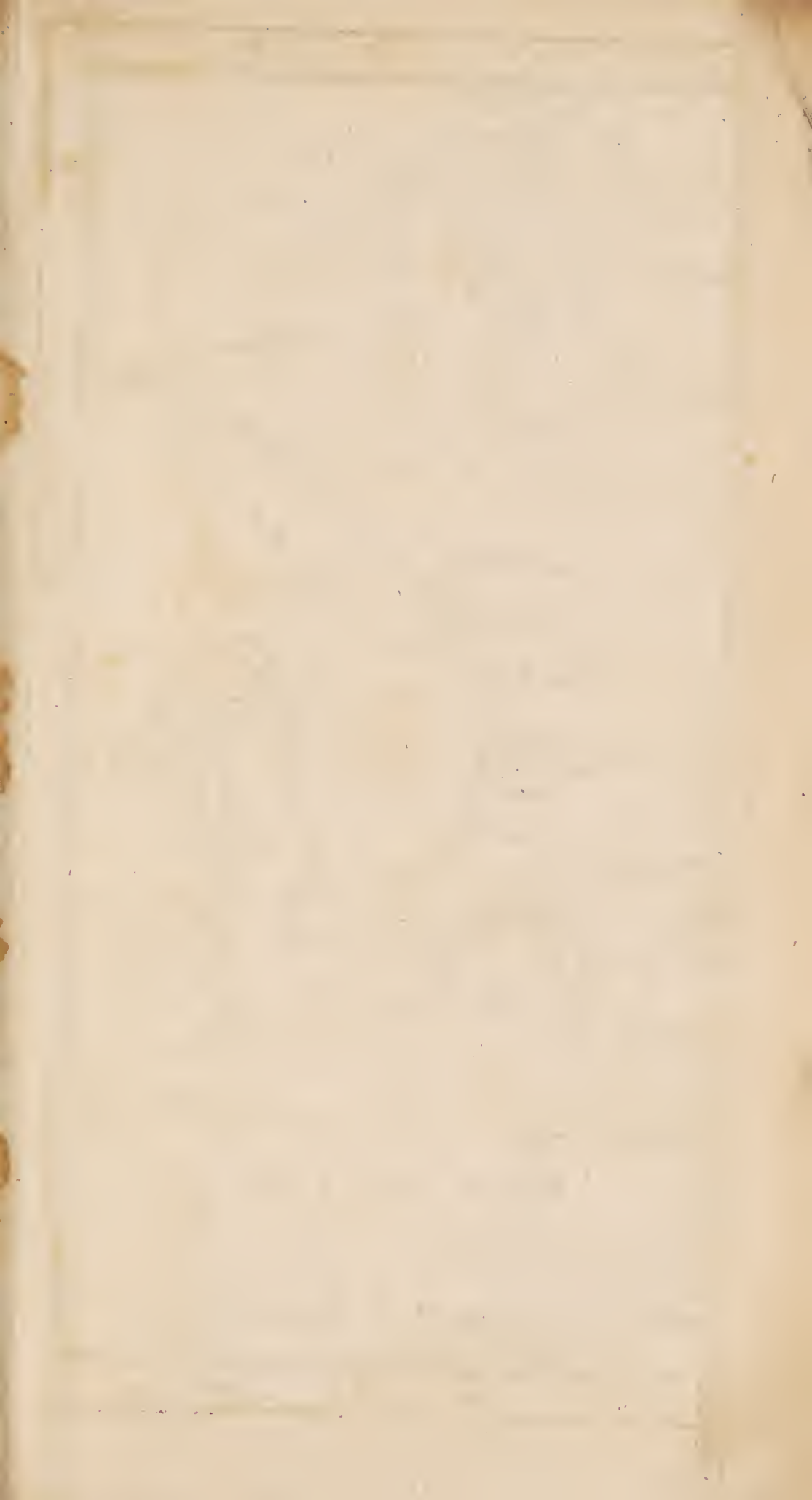
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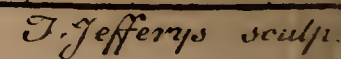
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1998







A
C O L L E C T I O N
O F
V O Y A G E S.



A brief NARRATIVE of the wonderful Preservation of Eight Men, who were left behind by their Ship's Company in the Year 1630, on the Coast of GREENLAND.

IN the year 1630, three ships were sent by the Russia company of London, to fish for whale and sea-morse upon the Greenland coast; one of them was called the Salutation, which having arrived with a fair wind at the place of her destination, after a few days cruize, sent her shallop ashore with eight men to catch venison, furnishing them with a brace of dogs, a firelock, two lances, and a tinder-box; she at that time riding within four leagues of Black-point, and five of Maiden-paps, a place noted for plenty of excellent deer.

On the 15th of June, it being a fine clear day, the shallop made the land in about four hours; and her men going ashore soon killed fourteen good deer; after which success, being quite fatigued, what with

rowing and what with hunting, they sat down to a meal of such victuals as they had brought with them; then night coming on, they agreed to rest just where they were, being all of opinion it would be dangerous, and perhaps to no purpose, to seek the vessel in the dark.

Next morning, the weather being thick, the wind driving hard at south, and much ice betwixt the shore and the ship, she was forced to sheer farther to seaward, out of sight of the shallop; and this motion, for which the men of the shallop could not account, giving them some alarm, they thought it their best course to hunt along the shore till they came to Green Harbour, where another of the concert ships was stationed, with which they unanimously agreed it was best to stay till they should hear tidings of their own ship, which they had some reason to fear was inclosed among the drift-ice.

In their way to Green Harbour, keeping close to the shore, they brought down eight more deer, all which they put on board the shallop: but on the 17th, when they reached their intended point, to their great mortification, they found the other ship was departed; a misfortune not more unexpected than surprising, as it was certain she had not a sufficient stock of provision for a homeward bound voyage. However, as it wanted but three days of the time limited for the ships to depart from the coast, they were extremely uneasy, fully knowing the ill consequences of a delay; and this determined them to endeavour to reach Bell-Sound, which was a place appointed as a general rendezvous. And to lighten the shallop that she might make more way, they heaved all their venison overboard. From Green Harbour to Bell Sound they computed the distance to be sixteen leagues, and that night reached the point of Nesse, which they supposed to be about half way; but here they

were obliged to come to anchor in a pretty secure station, between two rocks, there being so thick a fog abroad, that they could not see at above a foot from them. But the weather clearing up, about noon next day, they left this cove, and laboured hard at the oars without coming in sight of Bell-Sound, which they overshot at least ten leagues to the southward, towards Horn Sound: nor will this mistake appear very wonderful, if we consider that they had no compass on board, nor one man who was right sure of the land when he saw it.

However, after some deliberation, it was determined that they had gone too far southward; upon which, in spite of the obstinate persuasion of William Fakely the gunner, they went upon a northward tack, which was the right course, and soon brought them up within two miles of the point; when the weather being clear, the high land was very plain; which William Fakely narrowly observing, started up in a passion, and told the company, he was sure they were upon a wrong course, for the land before them had not the smallest appearance of Bell-Sound; upon which the boat's crew was once again unhappily persuaded to steer away to the southward, a circumstance which was the cause of their subsequent misfortunes.

Having continued a long while in this course, the people began in earnest to think that Bell-Sound could not lye to the southward; for which reason they resolved again to go north, a resolution which irritated the opinionated gunner so much, that he refused to steer any longer; and abandoned the guiding oar to the care of Edward Pelham. The shallop ran before the wind, which was large, and on the 21st came in sight of the Sound, out of which the wind just then coming about, blew at east north-east, so that they were

4 RELATION OF EIGHT MEN

forced to take in their sails, and apply to their oars, by the help of which they came two miles within the shore; where they coved, being obliged either to do so, or drive to leeward.

They were all now convinced not only that this was Bell-Sound, but that it was the very place on which they had a few days before turned their backs; even William Fakely being obliged to acknowledge the same truth: they first sought a convenient harbour for the shallop, in which having secured her, two of the sailors were dispatched over land to the tent at Bell-Sound, which was ten miles from them, to see if there were any signs of the ships, of which they had but little hope, as there had been a fair wind for them outward, and the time allotted for their stay here was expired. The messengers returned without being able to bring any news of the ships; however, they resolved to leave no place untried, where there was a probability of the ships staying; wherefore they agreed to visit Bottle-Cove, about three leagues distant on the other side of the Sound, which place they reached the 22d, but to no purpose; for there was not the least hope of consolation or relief.

After a mature and melancholy scene of deliberation, the result of which was only a mutual exhortation of each other to rely upon the divine protection, and bear undauntedly the distresses that seemed to threaten them, it was resolved to seek the best means possible of securing themselves from the attacks of the winter; and the horrid inconveniencies, to which, thus void of all necessities and comforts, they must necessarily be exposed. The first great step towards this security, was judged to be laying in a stock of provision, for which purpose it was generally agreed to go to Green Harbour to kill venison with the first fair weather.

Accordingly

Accordingly they put out the shallop, steering for that place, August the 25th, and the wind being very favourable, they arrived at it in twelve hours. Here fixing their oars fast in the ground and throwing over them the sail of the shallop, they formed a poor sort of a tent, and reposed under it for that night; which being very fair and clear, they took but a short nap; but rose betimes to set out for Cole's Park, a place whither they went by advice of Thomas Ayres, who knew it to be well stored with venison; and here they not only killed seven deer, but four bears the same day; all which they intended to store up for food.

But the weather beginning to grow cloudy and unfit for hunting, they made the best of their way back to Green Harbour, where they erected a tent, as before described, of their sails and oars, and having eat of such food as they had, slept pretty well for that night. Next morning, it being fair dry weather, leaving John Dawes and William Fakely, to take care of the tent, and prepare victuals to refresh them at their return, they went on board the shallop, and steered towards Cole's Park; where they had not been long, before they killed six deer with the help of their dogs, out of seven which they saw feeding on the side of a hill. As the weather was dull, they did not now choose to go farther than this hill, round which they continued to skirt all day, bringing down six deers more; but, night drawing on apace, with wind and rain, they made what haste they could to their tent for that night, where they continued all the ensuing day, it being cold, wet and stormy.

On the shore they found another shallop, belonging to the company's ships, which always leave two or three behind them; on board of this

therefore and their own together, having stowed their provision, which consisted of bears, venison, and the greaves of the whales that had been boiled here this year, they divided themselves into two companies, intending for Bell Sound, where they had determined to winter. But the approach of night prevented them from proceeding for that time; and the next day being Sunday, they chose not to stir out, but rather to keep the sabbath with proper respect; and set off in the morning, with fine weather, but then they could reach only half way on Monday; and on Tuesday came to Bottle-Cove, where the wind being high, they remained till next day. In the mean time, it blew so hard, and the sea ran so high, that their shallops, lashed to each other, were both filled with water, and the provisions not only wetted, but some of it actually washed over board; so that they were obliged to wade to recover them as well as their shallops, which by main strength they heaved upon the shore, where they fastened them with a hawser and grapnels; and here they resolved to let them lie till the wind should come about to favour their expedition to Bell Sound; which they made without any sinister accident on the 3d of September.

Here their first care was to unlade their provision, and lay it up carefully in their tent, that being the place destined for their winter habitation; but it is necessary to inform the reader, that this was a tent very different from that which they had before contrived to make out of the shallop's sails and oars. For this was a kind of house built by Flemmings, for the use of such of the low countries merchant ships as pursued the fishery on this coast; It was composed of timber pretty substantially joined and covered with Flemmish tiles, it was about eighty feet long and fifty broad, its principal use being

being to shelter the coopers, while they were employed in making casks for the train oil.

The weather being now become cold, and the frosts severe, there was no venturing another voyage to Green Harbour at any rate, lest the Sound should be so frozen as to hinder their return by sea; and by land it was too rugged and mountainous to be attempted: so that they were obliged for this time to give over all farther thoughts of deer hunting, and apply themselves to making their habitation as warm and compact as circumstances would admit. For this purpose, they bethought them of making a lesser tent within the great one; and were supplied with deal boards, posts, and rafters, from a small one built in the neighbourhood of the other, for the reception of the company's oil. The chimneys of the furnaces furnished them with bricks, and by great good luck they found four hogsheds of fine lime, which mixed with the sea-sand made an excellent cement.

While Fakely and Pelham were employed in building a wall of the thickness of one brick within the great tent against the inner planks, all the rest laboured at their different appointments; for while one pulled down the chimneys, another cleaned the bricks, and a third carried them in baskets to the masons; on the other hand was one tempering the mortar, a second forming the boards, and another curing venison. As their bricks only served to raise two sides of the new building, they were obliged to make the other two with wood; accordingly they erected their posts, which were a foot in diameter, at proper distances one from another, and nailed boards on each side, so that the middle was a hollow, which they filled up with lime and sand rammed in as hard as

possible, whereby the air was effectually kept out, and the place made surprizingly warm.

The whole was covered with deals interlining each other five or six times, and leaving not the smallest cranny open; the chimney was a vent into the greater tent, which served them at the same time by way of window; for they had removed a few tiles from the top, and made thereby a hole that admitted light, and gave passage to the smoak. The door they lined with a bed, that when it was shut, quite stopped up all the chinks.

The next work they went upon was making four cabins, wherein they chummed two and two, the deer skins dried making a very warm and agreeable sort of bed; for firing, they pulled in pieces seven old unserviceable shallops that lay upon the shore, and piled the pieces, with some other fuel they had collected, over the beams, whereby they provided against the snow's coming quite down on them, should it by any chance penetrate thro' the tiles.

The days now growing cold, or rather the nights, for day-light there was scarcely any, they kept good fires, and in order to make the most of their fuel, when they went to rest, they raked up all the ashes and embers together over a piece of elm, which when opened, after lying perhaps sixteen hours, yielded a very great heat; and by these means with proper care, their fuel lasted eight months, during which their fire never once went out.

September the 12th, there came some drift ice into the Sound, upon one piece of which spying two sea horses fast asleep, they put out the boat, and taking an old harpoon and a rope, approached them gently that they might not wake until they were very near; when William Fakely made
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so excellent a stroke at the old one, that the harpoon stuck fast in her, and she could not disengage herself, but was soon killed with a lance, as was also the young one; whose affection for its parent was such, that it swam close to the boat when the body of its dam was taken in; nor did it shew the slightest inclination to escape. They were soon haled ashore, and when roasted afforded a most plentiful meal.

The 19th of September, there were many others in the Sound, but they being more watchful, only one of them was taken.

About the 10th of October, the cold grew very bitter, the seas were frozen as far as the eye could stretch; and as their cloaths began to be tattered, and those were warmest which were in the best condition, they made needles of whalebone, and thread out of rope-yarn, with which they did their best endeavour to keep their rags together. From one of the coolers they ripped a piece of lead, of which making a sort of lamp, they put into it some rope yarn for candlewick; and supplying it with oil found in the cooper's tent, made a light which was very comfortable.

From a neighbouring clift there ran a constant stream, which falling into a sort of reservoir near at hand, served them for drink, as they took care to clear away the ice from it daily with their pick-axes; and this agreeable refreshment they enjoyed till January, when the frost became so hard, they were deprived of it, and forced to have recourse to snow-water melted with hot irons.

About the latter end of September, finding there was little probability of increasing their stock of provisions, except now and then with a chance bear, they were obliged to husband what they had in the manner following; they stinted

themselves to one reasonable meal of flesh a day, for four days in the week; and Wednesdays and Fridays they fed upon the greaves of whales, which are such scraps of fat as are generally flung away, when the oyl is pressed out of them; and this food they continued to eat regularly about three months: when they were obliged to retrench another day from eating flesh, which began to run short; and for fear their fuel should also fail, they roasted half a deer every day, and stowed it in hogsheds; however, they left a quarter raw to roast, and eat hot every Sabbath day, Christmas, and other festivals.

From October the 14th, to February the 3d, the sun was never once to be seen, but the moon shone often with great brightness, except when the sky was overcast; and indeed the winter weather here in general is dull, thick, and foggy: there was a sort of twilight from the month of October, to the 1st of December, which was totally eclipsed till the 20th, all that time being one entire night; but about the 1st of January, there was some visible appearance of day again.

Pelham, from whose journal we have taken this account, tells us that they had no almanack to direct them how the seasons past; but that he endeavoured to divide the time into hours and days as well as he could; and by adding a supposed day to the epact, he found the moon's age, and he says, he was so right in his calculation that he agreed exactly in the day of the month that he reckoned with the fleet that came to their relief.

By the latter end of January, they found the day eight hours long, but they were something dispirited, when on examining, there appeared not more than six weeks provisions; however, the 3d of February being a fair clear day, and the sun shining with great lustre, a she bear with her cub

cub approached their tent in search of prey, and nothing intimidated by their appearance, advanced upon them, and was soon killed, but the cub escaped.

Having finished this valuable day's work, they retired to warm themselves; then they sallied out again to cut up the carcass; which being divided into portable pieces, they stored in their tent. On this they lived for twenty days, it being good flesh, and far beyond their venison; but it was remarkable that the liver made their skins peel off: and this excoriation, Pelham remarks, was of special service to him; since with a new skin he acquired new health, and recovered from a bad fit of sickness.

After this period they killed several others, among which was one at least six feet high, and they roasted the flesh upon wooden spits, or fried it in a pan, which they found in the tent; the flesh they thought equal to any beef; and now provisions being plenty, they no longer laid themselves under any restrictions, but had two or three meals a day, which made them in a short time strong, active, and healthy. As the days lengthened, and the weather grew fine, they had plenty of fowls; but on the 16th of March, one of their mastives went out, and never returned; nor could they ever find out what became of him. By this time foxes began to be numerous, for which they laid traps, and caught upwards of fifty, to their great satisfaction.

The fowl that is commonest about Bell-Sound, comes there to breed upon the hills in the spring season; it feeds upon fish, and is about the bigness of a duck, but the legs are placed so close under its rump, that if it chance to alight upon the land, the weight of its body presses them down, and almost disables them from rising; yet, when

in the water, they seem to be in their natural element; these fowls were caught in a trap made of whalebone, and covered over with a bear skin, the fleshy side turned outward; their skins were good bait for the fox traps.

The weather growing pretty warm in May, they were able to go out daily in search of provision; but they saw nothing worth while till the 24th, when they started a buck, at which they set their dog; but he was so fat and lazy, that he let it escape.

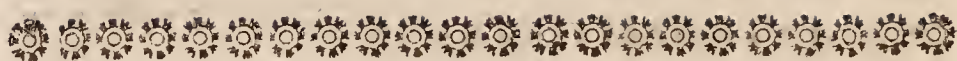
That same day they found a large quantity of birds eggs in the hills, thirty of which they brought home with them; intending to have gone out the ensuing morning and gathered above a thousand; but it was so cold, they were forced to stay within, and so were deprived of their usual exercise, which was to climb the top of a neighbouring mountain to see if the ice broke in the Sound. This was now the case, and a great part of it was driven to sea by an easterly wind.

May the 25th, the sharpness of the weather preventing them from making a sally, they were shut up close in their tent, when two ships from Hull stood into the Sound; and knowing that some men had been left there the preceding year, the master manned his boat, and sent her ashore to inquire about their fate. Here the first thing they found upon landing, was the shallop, which had been fitted out to go upon chasing sea-horses when the weather permitted; they were surprized to find her in such good trim, but could scarcely hope that their fellow sailors were alive: however, they advanced towards the tent, and cried hey, as they approached; nor were they a little astonished at being answered; for, Thomas Ayres being in the
outer

outer tent was the first who heard them, and accordingly returned their signal.

The sound of voices alarmed and gave new spirit to those who were within; they started up with great alacrity, and opening their door rushed out at once in a body, making a most uncooth appearance, for they were all black with soot and smoke, and their cloaths hung in tatters: after the Hull men had given way a little to their amazement, they embraced these poor people with glad hearts, and accompanied them to their dwelling, the contrivance of which was wonderful and pleasing; and here out of civility they partook of the fare of the house, drinking a glass of cold water, and tasting a bit of venison, that had been roasted four months before.

When they had rested a little, and satisfied their curiosity in examining the ingenious methods their brethren had put in practice to keep out the frost, and preserve the connexion of soul and body; they all joined and went on board of one of the ships together, where Pelham and his companions were treated with great humanity and tenderness. In three days the ships to which they belonged came into the Sound, and each man returned to his proper birth; but one Mason, to whom Fakely, Ayres, and two others belonged, was brutal enough to salute them with very abusive language, and call them runaways and deserters. Mr. Pelham's captain, whose name was Goodler, behaved to him and the others very kindly. They all left this place about the 20th of August, and had a prosperous voyage home; where the Russia company, in whose service they had sailed, made them all sufficient amends for the distresses they had endured.



JOURNAL kept by seven Sailors, who wintered in the Isle of St. MAURICE in GREENLAND, where they died anno 1634.

THE Greenland company in Holland being resolved upon pushing their discoveries as far as possible in that part of the world, whence they took their name, particularly with respect to the variation of the weather, and other curious matters that might contribute to the improvement of astronomy, and tend to the advancing the ease of commerce; seven bold spirited sailors freely offered to winter there, and keep an exact journal of their observations of every kind.

These were accordingly left on the island of St. Maurice in Greenland, August the 26th 1633, the fleet bearing away for Holland with the wind at north-east, and a hollow sea which continued all night. On the 27th, there did not appear the least darkness during the whole night; on the 28th it snowed very hard, they shared half a pound of tobacco a man between them, which was to be a week's allowance, and walked out in the evening to make observations, but saw nothing remarkable.

The 29th was a clear sunshiny day, and from a high hill, which they often climbed when the weather permitted, they discovered the Bear-Mountain very plainly. The night of the 30th was cloudy, but that of the 31st was clear and starry, with a fresh gale from the north-east. From the 1st to the 7th of September, the weather

ther was pretty tollerable, with some flying showers of snow and rain; but on the 8th, the wind coming about to the south-east, it rained very heavily; however it cleared up in the afternoon, and in the beginning of the night, which was fair and starlight, they were alarmed with a dreadful noise, as if something enormously heavy had fallen near them on the ground; for which, as it had no visible consequence, they could not possibly account.

On the 9th, the sun shone so very warm, that they stripped into their shirts to be cool; however, it rained in the evening; and they had changes of this sort frequently to the 17th, some of which time they employed in gathering herbs and fallading; and saw many sea-gulls. The wind then changed to south-west, and the sea was white with foam; but the night was very calm. On the 18th it rained hard, and each man had a certain measure of brandy delivered, which was to last him for eleven days.

On the 23d, it being a heavy day, and the wind at east, they saw a whale play near the shore, on which they hoisted out their sloop and pursued it; but the sky darkening fast, and a thick fog with driving rain at the same time coming on, favoured its total escape. The 26th, the weather proved cold and frosty with the wind at east, and they found no more fallading; the cold rains, which continued, together with very high winds from various quarters, having rotted it in the ground.

On the 2d of October, they discovered a fine spring of fresh water on the south part of the island, and it froze so hard on some ponds even on the south side, as to be able to bear a man's weight; the two following days were cold and frosty; but the 5th, the wind being at south, it rained so hard, that they could not stir out of their tents. However, the cold frost returned with the succeeding

ceeding morning, and the 8th at night there was so violent a storm, that they feared it would carry away their tents; which, together with the noise caused by a rough hollow sea, kept them all night from sleeping; the wind veered from north to north-east, and was so fierce, that no ship would have been able to outride it.

The cold now began to force them not only to make fires, but to keep close to them, and they were obliged to hang their linen to dry under cover near the fire, for without doors it froze in a minute as hard as a board. Besides, they found themselves much altered for the worse, being troubled with frequent vertigoes.

On the 12th they had high winds, hard frost and heavy snow, and a barrel of bears flesh froze within less than two yards of the fire. On the 15th, they sallied out armed with harpoons, lances, hangers, and other offensive weapons upon two whales that were thrown ashore; but the tide rising too suddenly, they were carried off with it, not without having received some wounds.

The 19th they saw some ice to the north of the shore, and tho' the sun was up, he did not rise above the hill, under shelter of which they had pitched their tents. On the 20th they saw a bear, but could not catch him, tho' they strove hard to overtake him; the ice seemed to increase at sea, the wind continued at east, and the night was very cold. The 25th they pursued another bear, which came close to their tents, but he outskipped their utmost speed. It now continued to snow daily, with some intermissions of sun and fair weather, but the cold increased gradually, and on the 31st was so severe as to split several vessels that held liquids; there was not the least sign of water, and the bay and sea were frozen as far as it was possible for the eye to stretch.

The 2d of September they killed a bear, six or seven of these animals having come down towards the tents in a body ; however, the rest fled when they saw their companion fall, and saved themselves upon the ice, where they could not be followed ; and these voracious creatures began to grow so numerous after night-fall, in general about the tents, that the sailors did not think it safe to stir out ; and were forced to kindle good fires in their buttery cellar to preserve their beer and other liquors from being spoiled by the frost. On the 3d, the weather being tollerable, they fired at a bear upon the ice, and killed him, then they haled the body homeward with a good strong rope. The snows were so heavy, and the wind so tempestuous on the 5th, that they could not stir abroad : by this time the sea-gulls were all retired, their water was consumed, and in its place they were obliged to use melted snow.

The days by the 19th began to grow so short, that they had not sufficient light to write or read in their tents, a circumstance which affected them with melancholy : on the 23d they shot a bear which escaped to the ice, though it appeared by the track of his blood that he was terribly wounded ; but it seems so very strong is this animal, that he will run a great while after being shot quite thro' the body.

On the 26th, the wind being to the southward, and the day tolerably mild, the ice drove out of the bay fast into the ocean : for two or three days last past, they had seen some sea-gulls, which as night approached retired to the hills. The latter end of this month and the beginning of December, it was so very mild, that they began to hope the winter now would not be much more severe than what it generally was in Holland. However, the frost returned with a north-east wind on the 8th,

8th, and the ice began again to increase everywhere.

For some time past, they had in vain endeavoured to catch bear, they being so shy that it was not possible to reach them, and tho' many of them had been wounded, they got off on the ice; however, on the 12th, one of the men had the good fortune to shoot one thro' the head, which expired upon the spot; and a leg of it being roasted, proved a most delicious meal to people, who had for a considerable time fed on nothing but salt meat; besides, it chanced to be young. The 17th, the ice seemed to be forced back into the bay by a high southerly wind, which brought down many sea-gulls from the hills, which made the same noise they do in Holland in May. The 21st it froze very hard, and the snow lying deep on the ground, they were forced to wade thro' it in boots: the day was still four hours long, and most part of the month of December, the weather continued so bad, that they were shut up whole days in their tents, without daring to stir out.

They began the new year as merrily as their circumstances would permit, and went regularly to prayers; the cold was very bitter, and the ice in the bay appeared like white clifted hills, from the tops of their tents, so large were the concretions. Just by them on the 13th they saw a bear, and one man had the pleasure of bringing him down with the first discharge of a fusée; he was drawn into their tent, out of which they did not care to venture, with ropes, and was soon flea'd and dressed for table, being a very welcome morsel.

During all the month of January, the snows were heavy, and the frosts severe, with various gusts of bad weather, which lasted 'till February;

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on the 16th of which month, they had sight of two wild fowl something like geese, and also a falcon, but none of them came within reach of their guns : and by this time the bears, as if instructed, from the treatment of their companions what they were to expect, became so shy, that they fled at the most distant sight of a man. The weather underwent various changes this month, sometimes thawing with the wind at south, then freezing hard with the wind at north-east.

On the first of March the sun shone a little upon their tents, and it rained in the evening ; the weather that ensued was cold and stormy till the 11th, when it was calm and pleasant, the sun yielding some heat ; and this lasted for a few days, with the wind at south. On the 15th they shot a bear, and hung his skin to dry, sprinkling so much of his flesh as they could not immediately devour with salt : fresh meat of any sort was very serviceable at present, most of them being infected with the scurvy to a prodigious degree ; and this disorder made some foxes that were caught in traps very welcome. All this month the weather was tolerably good, the days being very fine ; but the increase of the scurvy, and their want of fresh food, made them very heartless and dispirited. On the 28th, and 29th, they saw whales of prodigious sizes in the bay, and these in such large quantities, that had they had strength to hunt them, and been furnished with proper tools, they might have made considerable advantage of them. But in their present circumstances nothing was to be done ; besides, there was plenty of other fishes, and on the 31st they saw a she bear with three cubs, at which they fired ineffectually : there were also four or five whales in the bay, which were near being stranded with the ebb ; but had this been the case, it would have been

been of little comfort to them, for they now were too weak to have assailed them.

On the 3d of April, they were so disabled by the scurvy, that only two of them could stand on their feet, and these killed the last two pullets that were left, which they gave them, hoping that with this little refreshment they might recruit a little. Great part of this month they saw plenty of whales every day, but the weather coming about again colder, with the wind at north-east, they found it difficult to move out of their tents, for the disorder gained upon them hourly. And on the 16th, he, whom they called their clerk, and who wrote the journal to this period, died. On the 23d, it rained a little with a southerly wind, and their misery began to be extremely deplorable, for they were so reduced as to be unable to yield either themselves or their companions assistance, there being only one among them that could move about, and even he could go but very badly. On the 23d, their commander died, and they killed their dog on the 27th, which was but a poor bit; the night was fair and cloudy, and there was a thaw abroad: the 28th the ice was carried out to sea, and the bay left quite clear. The 29th, the day was cloudy and the wind was pretty high from the north, and at night it blew hard from the north-east. The 31st was a clear sun-shiny day.

At this place ends the journal, which was found by some Zealand ships which came with the Greenland fleet hither the same year; and it is very probable, the poor man who wrote attended it till, being no longer able to hold his pen, and he scrawled miserably, he retired to his cabin, where he resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator.

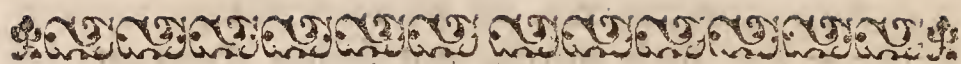
Soon as the fleet came in sight of the island of St. Maurice, which was the 4th of June, 1634, the sailors strove who should get first to shore to visit

visit their companions, of whose welfare they had however but little hopes, not seeing them on the strand.

On entering the tents, they found each of the poor wretches lying dead in their respective lockers, it being not improbable that they, who survived the clerk, died in the beginning of May; near one of them stood some bread and cheese, on which perhaps he had fed a little before his death; within reach of another lay a box of ointment, with which it was supposed he rubbed his teeth and gums, his hand being lifted towards his mouth; and not far off lay a prayer book.

A little reflection will shew that the circumstances of these people must have been truly deplorable, when unable to help each other; and as they probably languished till their natural heat was extinguished by the cold, those who survived to the last must have been the most unhappy. The principal source of their destruction was the scurvy, occasioned by their having no victuals to feed on, but such as were salt; by this their limbs became cramped, and being thus made incapable of taking such exercise as was proper to keep the blood in motion, they soon grew stiff, and were conquered by the cold; which was not so excessive but that they might have weathered it, had they been able to have kept themselves in action, and repelled the disorder, under the attacks of which they perished.

The commodore ordered them to be put into coffins, and covered with snow, till the breaking of the ground became more easy from the thaw, and graves were dug for them as soon as the earth became indifferently soft; in which they were interred, under a general discharge of the cannon of the fleet, on the 24th of June, being St. John's day.



A short JOURNAL kept by seven Sailors,
who were left to winter at SPITZ-
BERGEN, anno 1634, and died there
in the Year 1635.

IN the year 1633, the same fleet that set those
unfortunate men, whom we have just now
treated of, ashore on the island of St. Maurice,
landed seven others on the very same account at
Spitzbergen, who survived, and were brought
back in 1634; their place being supplied by seven
others, who voluntarily chose also to winter there;
they were Andrew Johnson of Middleburgh, Cor-
nelius Thyffe of Rotterdam, Jerom Carcoen of
Deft's haven, Tibbe Jellis of Friseland, Nicholas
Florison of Hoom, Adrian Johnson of Deft, and
Fettje Otters of Friseland. They were provided
with herbs, physical preparations, meat, drink
and all necessaries, and kept a journal of their ob-
servations as long as they were able; of this we
shall here give as short and expressive an abstract as
possible.

September the 11th, 1634, the fleet having
hoisted sail for Holland, our adventurers saw plenty
of whales in the sea all about, at which they dis-
charged some fire-arms without doing them any
damage; they also wandered about in search of
foxes, bears, or even vegetables, but had no
success.

The sun left them either the 20th, or 21st of
October.

The 24th of November, they were alarmed
with the appearance of the scurvy, which made
them

them more earnest, tho' to no purpose, in looking out for herbs, bears or foxes.

The 2d of December they fixed some fox traps, and Nicolás Florison took a dose of physic against the scurvy, as did Jerom Carcoen on the 11th; and the same day they agreed to eat seperately to prevent a communication of the infection, as some were freer than others from that terrible disorder.

The 23d, the cook spied a bear close by one of their tents; but he made off before they could get at their guns.

The 24th, three of them being together discovered another bear, who rose upon his hind legs as they advanced towards him; but being soon disabled with a musket-shot, he fell, bleeding very fast, and roaring dreadfully; he then seized one of the halberts between his teeth, which he bit very strongly; but after having floundered a good while, he on a sudden collected all his strength, sprung up, and fled so swiftly, that he soon outstripped them, tho' they pursued him with lanthorns and candles, till they were quite weary. The loss of him was very vexatious, as they were in great want of fresh meat to refresh them a little; the scurvy growing every day stronger, they being nourished only by their salt provisions, whereby they were laid under the most excruciating tortures.

January the 24th, Adrian Johnson died in great misery, as did Cornelius Thyffe, a sensible man and the most skilful sailor among them; and Fettje Otters departed this life in two or three days after. By this time, the other four, tho' scarcely able to stand on their legs, contrived to make coffins for their three companions, into which they put their bodies.

The 28th, they saw a fox, but could not catch him.

The

The 7th of February, they were lucky enough to find one in a trap, which tho' some small refreshment, yet proved but of little benefit, their distemper having reached to too great an height.

They now saw bears enough every day, sometimes ten in a drove; but they were so weak, they could not handle their guns; and if they had killed any of them, they could hardly have brought them home, much less could they have pursued those which they wounded, for they were scarcely able to put their feet to the ground; their gums were swollen, and their teeth so bad, that they could no longer bite their biscuit, and they were afflicted with the most cruel griping pains in the guts and loins; to which the cold added considerably. Some had moreover the bloody flux, and others spit blood; in short Jerom Carcoen was the only person among them able to move, and he made a shift to bring in fuel for firing.

The 23d, they were not able to stir out of their cabbins, but lay calling upon God for assistance, in the most racking misery.

The 24th they had a glimpse of the sun, a sight which had been unknown to them since October. The 26th of this month was probably the last day on which they were able to write; for their journal ended with observing, that then, four of them were still alive lying flat on the ground, having stomachs to eat, if any one among them could have served the others with food, but all were disabled thro' infirmity and pain: in which dismal circumstances, as they had no hopes, but in futurity, being just starved with cold and hunger, they recommended themselves devoutly to their Creator; waiting for the hour of their dismissal from this life with impatience, and entreating the God of heaven to hasten it.

The

The fleet which came hither from Holland in 1635, found their tents close shut to prevent the entry of bears and foxes: a baker, who was one of the first that landed, broke open the tent of Middleburgh, and found part of a dead dog, laid out as it were to dry; and going a little farther trod upon the carcase of the second, for they had two; then advancing to the inner room, he stumbled on the dead bodies that were stretched on the floor, upon some old sails; two of them were quite drawn up together, the knees almost meeting the chin; Nicolas Florison and another lay dead in their separate lockers: they were all put into coffins, and as soon as the ground could be opened, they were interred in deep graves; and large stones fixed over them, to hinder their being dug up by the bears, and other ravenous beasts. We don't find that any others attempted to winter at Spitzbergen afterwards.


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## A short Account of a Shipwreck near SPITZBERGEN, in the Year 1646.

**J**OH N Cornelius of Maniken being ordered upon the whale fishery in the year 1646, left the Texel on the 6th of May, and on the 3d of June arrived in the neighbourhood of Spitzbergen; but was prevented from anchoring in the bay, by the shoals of ice; wherefore he kept out to sea; and chancing to discern two whales in the offing, he sent his sloop well manned in pursuit of them.

While they were rowing up and down, watchful of an opportunity to make a successful attack upon one of these enormous creatures, they discovered a large ice shoal floating at a distance, with something white thereupon, which they supposed to be bears. But Ellert Johnson the harpooner insisting that it was something else, and that it was in motion, persuaded them to row up to it; to which proposal, after some altercation, they assented; and perceived it, on a nearer view, to be a sort of signal of distress waved by a man.

This discovery induced them to approach it as fast as they could, and there to their great surprize they found four living men and one dead; by their language they knew them to be English; they took them into the sloop, and conveyed them on board their ship in the bay.

They were at this time reduced to the last extremity by hunger and cold, having had nothing to feed upon for some time before they saw the sloop, but a leather belt, which they had divided share and share alike, and eaten up. The surgeon  
took

took all the care he could to recover them, but three of them died in spite of all his endeavours, in five or six days after their being brought on board; the fourth only survived, who was brought to Delft upon the Meuse in September 1646. Whence he got a passage home to England.

The account he gave was, that their vessel being wrecked on that ice shoal, from which he was taken, the crew, consisting of forty-two men, saved themselves upon it, with some tools, victuals, and their sloop; that they cut a deep hole like a cave into the ice, blocking it round the mouth with such pieces as they dug out, to shelter them from the violence of the winds and waves, which intention it in some measure fulfilled; and in this hole they had burrowed fourteen days.

In a few days the commander thinking it impossible that they should all survive long upon this shoal, resolved with seventeen of his men to make the land in the sloop, and send her off for the rest, with an account of his success; but, as they never heard more of them, and it blew a hard storm soon after, there was reason to think they never reached the shore.

Twenty-four of them remaining still upon the ice, and provisions growing daily so very scanty, that they were reduced to a famishing condition, and scarcely hoped relief from any thing but death, they resolved to separate, and quarter upon different shoals, in hope that by some piece of good fortune they might be driven to land: but what became of them was never known, whether they were taken up by any other ships, or whether they reached the shore; indeed it is most likely that they were swallowed by the remorseless ocean, for John Cornelius ordered his sloop upon a cruize in search of the survivors, but without any success.





## A DESCRIPTION of the Country and Inhabitants of ICELAND.

**B**EFORE we quit the northern seas, we shall relate some little anecdotes from Angrim Jonas, and other authors, who have made Iceland their theme, as it lies opposite to Greenland to the north; to the east it has the northern ocean; on the north it is bounded by the frozen sea, and on the south it is washed by the Scottish ocean.

This island is in the latitude of sixty-five degrees, or thereabouts, and obtained its name from the ice with which it is covered; it is about twice as large as the island of Scilly; and its longest day, which is about the summer solstice, is from two in the morning till ten at night, the sun in all that time, being two months, never falling quite below the horizon, nor rising above it during the winter solstice, when the shortest day is from ten o'clock in the morning till two in the afternoon, our common hour of sun-set at that time of year.

Iceland is at present a rude barren country, yielding neither grain nor wood; yet it is said to have been formerly well stocked with wheat; and it appears from the enormous roots of trees which are often dug up here, and are as black as ebony, that what is reported of its having heretofore produced timber proper for shipping, is not an untruth: but now, did not the drift wood afford them materials sufficient for building and fuel, and neighbouring nations supply them with grain, the people of Iceland might perish of hunger and cold.

This country is well watered; a few of its springs, which are in general very clear, yield most refresh-  
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ing draughts, as nourishing, say some people, as beer; but the majority of them are very unwholesome: it has good hot baths, and variety of ponds and lakes, brooks and navigable rivers; the naming of which would be very tedious; and all of them contain plenty of good fish.

On the western part of this island, we are told by Blefkenius, is a lake so extremely cold, that it petrifies every thing that is put into it; and that part of a stick steeped in it, which is under the water, becomes in a short time iron, while the rest retains its former nature. There is also, says the same author, another lake near the middle of this island, from whence arise fumes of a nature so malignant, as to kill the birds that fly over it. There are springs here so hot as to scald a man's skin where the water touches; and this left to cool, leaves a strong tincture of sulphur behind it: upon its surface swims a sort of animated red substance, which, when approached, plunges under water, and rises again when left alone: there is also a spring which has the taste of wheat, and is a good remedy against the venereal distemper, which is common here.

Brimstone is the only mineral substance found in Iceland, and it is dug up almost every where; especially on the east of the island, near Hecla, a volcano that often ejects flames and fiery matter, with ashes and calcined stones, like Vesuvius or Ætna: there have been many instances of people lost going up this mountain, by the ground giving way, and falling in with them: however, when the wind is westerly, it seems to be less agitated than at other times, and may be approached with more safety: it is said that a stone flung into one of its cavities, rebounds back with prodigious velocity.

The inhabitants believe this mountain to be the receptacle of damned souls, who here find their punishment by fire; and they will seriously affirm, that they see troops of devils driving into its mouth the spirits of the lately departed, and hurrying back for more; but they are generally, say those people, most busy at the time of a bloody battle. The dashing of the waves, and ice shoals upon the shore, and against the cavities of rocks, produces a most hideous and ungrateful noise, which the Icelanders believe to be the groans and lamentations of the damned souls, tortured among the ice with excessive cold; their punishment consisting in extremes of heat and childness.

On the 29th of November, 1563, the sea in the neighbourhood of Hecla appeared all in a bright flame, which the more judicious supposed to be caused by a fiery eruption from the mountain; at the same time there was an earthquake felt, and a most dreadful noise heard all over the island; and the ensuing day the sea, in that place where it had seemed on fire, was found to have retired, at least two leagues, from its antient boundaries.

The inhabitants of Iceland are strong, courageous, and ready witted: the poorest sort are slaves to the rich; and their wealth consists in herds of cattle, numbers of fishing vessels, and many vassals. They are generally tall and well made; and if the women were ornamented, they would be found very beautiful. The men and women are not distinguished by their garments, dressing all alike. Their manner of living is very coarse; their food is a sort of stock-fish pounded with a stone, or else very bad butter and cheese; their drink being either water, milk, or whey; and on this hard fare many of them survive, without the help of a physician, to a hundred and fifty years of age.

They



They were said to be attended by familiar spirits, by whose advice they either went a hunting or fishing; and these demons, we are told by Ortelius, they distinguish by the name of Drollar, which seems to be derived from the Danish word Trol, signifying a devil. Blaskenius says, they make a good trade of selling winds, which is done by tying a certain number of knots on a rope, or an handkerchief; over which they pronounce some strange words by way of charm; and the buyer is directed to untie each knot, when he comes to a particular place lying in his course.

Angrim Jonas, who was coadjutor to the bishop of Hole, a native of Iceland, and a man of good sense, ridicules this story, and says the Icelanders, being skilled in the variations of the weather, can by the disposition of the air foresee into what point the wind is about to shift, perhaps some few hours before-hand; and that they are cautious in their bargaining, taking care not to enter into treaty with a stranger, until they have observed the wind near changing as he would have it. The knots are delivered, and a sort of charm pronounced to give an air of mystery to the contract. And if, says Jonas, they should once chance to prove right, the credulous purchaser blazons every where their knowledge.

When the young girls grow to a proper age, they are by their parents prostituted to such strangers as happen to come among them, for any trifling thing, even for a biscuit, which by them, as having no corn of their own, is accounted a great curiosity, and laid up to be produced, steeped in milk, either at some great festival, or the entertainment of their superiors. If a child should be the consequence of such a connexion, the girl is always after held in very great esteem, and the child



received, by whoever marries her, as a valuable part of her dowery.

If by any exchange they chance to obtain wine, beer, or strong liquors, they never hoard them, but invite all their friends to partake, who are sure not to stir while one drop of liquor is left. During the entertainment they enliven one another with rude artless songs, setting forth the achievements of their ancestors, and never rise from table to make water; which would be accounted ill manners, but hint their want to one of the young women in waiting; for the daughters of the house always attend these carousals, and hand the necessary utensil, which they convey from one to another; and it is not thought genteel to refuse it.

Jonas, however, is angry at this imputation thrown upon the modesty of his countrywomen; neither will he allow that they wash their teeth with urine; and perhaps with some justice: these customs might have been formerly tolerated amongst them, but it would be hard to suppose that they remained still as unpolished as ever.

The cattle which happen to die by chance in the field, or to be smothered in the snow, are held in great esteem, nay, deemed sacred; and it is certain they will preserve untainted many months in the frost: for this reason, they use no salt to their fish or flesh, nor have they need of it.

They are great players at chess; in so much that every peasant in the country knows the game, and has men formed of fish bones, with which he plays during the long nights, with this difference, that our fools are their bishops; because, say they, the clergy should be near the king. Their rooks are formed with swords by their sides, and bloated cheeks, as if adapted to blow the horn, which they hold in each hand; they are called centurions, or captains; and it is certain, that in many  
parts

parts of the northern world, trumpeters were considered as officers, and not held in such slight estimation as amongst us.

Chess is a game of very antient standing in the north ; for the Norwegian chronicle mentions, that Herald, surnamed the Hairy, king of Norway, and who reigned about the year 870, received from his fosterfather Drogen the giant, among many other presents, a most beautiful chess-table : and few persons can be more curious than the people of fashion in Denmark, Norway, and Iceland, are in the workmanship of their tables and men ; for example, Eleanor, natural daughter of Christiern, king of Denmark, who married count Ulefield, great marshal of that kingdom, and first minister of state, used tables inlaid with white and yellow amber ; the men were of gold, curiously wrought, and inlaid with the same materials that composed the tables. The kings and queens were dressed in their regalia, and mounted on thrones ; the bishops were distinguished by the episcopal habit ; the knights were mounted and properly accoutered ; rooks were represented by elephants with towers on their backs ; and the men were musketeers with their guns presented, as if only waiting the word to fire.

The history of the various revolutions in Iceland has been well preserved ; and there are particular accounts still extant of the reigns of the several kings, each one by itself, written in verse ; for the antient kings and heroes of the north used to carry every where with them certain bards to record their exploits in verse, and their compositions were generally learned by the soldiery, who, ambitious of elevating the fame of their leaders, sung them wherever they went. The poets of this country are indisputably born such ; for if they have not the talent of composing naturally, it has been found that no



rules whatever can implant it; those who have the power of composition scarcely speak any thing in prose; and there is a certain season, the time of the new moon I think, when they are agitated with a sort of frenzy that adds an horrid paleness to their visage, and their hollow funken eyes render them still more frightful; nor is their appearance, at this time, unlike what Virgil describes of the Cumean Sybil.

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Cui talia fanti

Ante fores, subito non vultus, non color unus,  
 Non comtæ mansere comæ; sed pectus anhelum,  
 Et rabie fera corda tument: majorque videri,  
 Nec mortale sonans; adflata est numine quando  
 Jam propiore dei.

On this account they are held in much esteem by the neighbouring nations, which believe there is a sort of magic power in their verse that can not only influence the infernal demons, but also affect the planets.

The plan of the mythology adopted by these bards is called Edde; and therein it is asserted, among many other strange matters, that the first principle of things was a giant called Immer, who was cut in pieces by dwarfs that sprung out of chaos, which out of his skull scooped the heavens; of his right eye they formed the sun; of his left eye, the moon; his shoulders were erected into mountains; of his bones were made rocks; his bladder was turned into the sea, and the rivers sprung from his urine, &c. This mythology is written in old Iceland verse, and reckoned very antient.

The antient inhabitants of Iceland were pagans: we find Thor and Odin in the list of their deities; the former being equal to the Jupiter, the latter  
 to



to the Mercury of the old Romans; and from these two, as with us, they have Odin's day and Thor's day in their week. On their altars, which were plated with iron, blazed a fire, and they were careful never to extinguish it: near it stood a tin vessel, containing the blood of that victim which was most newly slain, wherewith the spectators were generally sprinkled; and an oath taken, by laying hold of a silver ring of about twenty ounces weight, smeared with the blood of the sacrifice, was sacred and inviolable.

We are told by the Iceland chronicles, that their priests used to sacrifice men and women to their gods, and the victims were precipitated from the top of a neighbouring rock, or into a deep pit, near the two chief temples; one of which was at Hole, on the north, and the other on the south side of the island at Shalholt: they both are at present Christian bishopricks, and the latter is the residence of the Danish governor. Lutheranism is the established religion of the country: and Angrim Jonas says, that Christianity made its appearance here about eight hundred years ago; tho' it was not spread over the island till long after that period.

Iceland was formerly divided into four provinces; the most northern of which, being the most considerable, was subdivided into four bailliages; each of which had its subdivision into eight or ten districts. The other three provinces were only portioned out in three parts each. There was an assembly or court of judicature of the bailliages of each province, annually assembled at the principal place; and all who had a right to preside at these assemblies, were summoned by small wooden crosses, distributed by the governor: besides, the president of the whole island, at other times, summoned the extraordinary council of the chiefs

of the provinces, by sending to them wooden hatchets.

The administration of justice, and the exercise of devotion, were alternately performed in the temples; of which each bailliage had three: the presidents of these were called Godorp, or Divine. The principal care of these magistrates was to provide for the poor; which, from the barrenness of the country, were reduced to great extremity: it was also their business to prevent them from wandering out of their respective districts, and to inflict punishments on such as strove to pass them.

If a beggar happened to be obstinate, or offered to oppose the civil power at any rate, the magistrate was at liberty either to kill him, or take away his testicles, to prevent his spreading poverty: no poor man was permitted to marry a poor woman; and if a man had only a just sufficiency to maintain himself, he was not allowed to wed a girl with a less portion.

These laws were in force, till the king of Norway, invited by the feuds that arose among those who managed the administration, made a conquest of Iceland in 1263, and entirely changed the form of government, besides the imposition of an annual tribute; and it has ever since shared the fortune of its conqueror, and with him submitted to Denmark; whence governors or viceroys are now sent to collect the annual tribute, and may or may not reside upon the spot, at their option.

The Icelanders were formerly counted good gladiators, and bold pirates; single combat was publicly allowed among them; and their very law business was often thus decided, the vanquished party losing his cause, and he who refused to fight undergoing the same fate. It was not an uncommon thing for two persons to stake their whole fortunes one against another, and for him who conquered

quered to possess both ; however, his heirs were at liberty to present the victor with a bull, which if he killed with one blow, he was confirmed in his acquisitions ; but if he miscarried, he lost his spoil.

The country is mountainous, and in several places produces excellent pasturage, the grass being of so fine a scent that people dry it to lay among their linen, and is so very rich that they are obliged to remove their cattle from it many times, otherwise they would eat till they burst : their beef is but indifferent, and their mutton is rank ; but these imperfections are purged off by the air, in which they dry their meat to preserve it, an end answered thereby much better than by salt. Their horses are not bad ; and when hay is scarce, as well as grain, thro' the severity of the season and delay of foreign ships, they teach their cattle to feed like themselves upon dry fish.

Their buildings are mean and low, to secure them from the rough tempests with which this place abounds ; they are partly composed of drift wood, and partly of whale and other bone ; and their firing is a turf called *cespes bituminosus*, from its being impregnated with bitumen. They have white partridge, and many sorts of water-fowls ; but to the smaller species of birds they are strangers : here are also crows and falcons, some of them white. There is likewise a sort of shock dog bred here without ears or tail ; they are in great esteem, but fit for nothing but to gratify whim ; and white foxes and bears seem to be natural to the place ; but those of other colours, as red and black, with stags, wolves, and unicorns, are brought hither upon the ice, as well as large trees. We have before this expatiated on the nature and value of the unicorn's horn ; therefore we shall not impose upon the reader's patience with repetitions



concerning it. We shall only observe, that it is part of the commodities in which they pay their annual tax to Denmark.

It is remarkable of the Icelanders, that they are so bigotted to their country, as to imagine it the most pleasant in the world; and some of them, tho' proficients in study, and consequently expected to be something wiser, have preferred a mean subsistence here to a comfortable living in Denmark. As their houses are dispersed, and they have neither towns nor villages, the two already mentioned excepted, it cannot be expected that they should have highways; so that those who are obliged or chuse to go from one province to another, are guided by a compass: where there are deep holes, which might be dangerous from being covered over with snow, they generally set up particular marks; and these are the only directions travellers meet with in this country.

There was a printing-press some time ago at Hole, where the Old Testament was cast off in the Iceland tongue, which the celebrated Wormius assures us is the purest Runic now to be found in the world; but the want of paper, which is a scarce and dear article here, delayed the New Testament a long time. In the same place there was a college for the education of youth, in which they were taught as far as rhetoric, and then sent to Copenhagen to finish their studies. This country has produced many men of learning; and some of the bishops of Hole will, upon examining the list, appear to have been very serviceable to the republic of letters.

Iceland, according to Angrim Jonas, was first discovered by one Neddocus a pirate, who was forced ashore here by a tempest; and finding it very barren, he soon quitted it, but gave it first  
the

the name of Iceland or Snowland, from the heaps of snow wherewith he saw it covered.

From his speaking of it, Garderus, a Swedish mariner, sought it out, and ventured ashore ; at his departure giving it the name of Gardersholm, or Garder's Isle. This was in the year 864.

The third person, who chose to visit this country was a noted Norwegian pirate, called Flacco, who sailing from Hittland, one of the Orkney islands, took with him three ravens, the use of the compass being not at that time discovered ; and when he got into the main sea, he let one of them loose, which bent its course back again to Hittland ; however, he kept on his way, and let loose his second raven, but that soon returned to the ship, whence he inferred she had not found any land : in some short time after he sent out his third raven ; and finding her keep on the wing, made all the sail he could after her, by which means he was piloted to Iceland. He landed on the eastern part of it, not far from where Garderus had gone ashore : here he spent the winter ; and finding himself surrounded by ice on every side, he gave it the name of Iceland ; by which appellation it has ever since been distinguished : he afterwards wintered on the south part of the island ; but finding it as uncomfortable as the rest, he returned to Norway, where he was called Refnafloke, or Flocco, the Raven, because he had made use of that bird, in the manner we have already described, for discovering this land.

But the Iceland chronicle mentions that the country was desert and uncultivated in the year 870, when one Ingulph a Norwegian baron, with his brother-in-law Horleifus, having killed two of the greatest men in the whole country, in a duel, were banished for the fact, and fled to Iceland :

here



here Ingulph threw out his gates to facilitate his landing, it being the custom of exiles in that part of the world to bring with them the gates of their houses; but he being driven from them by a sudden gust of wind, landed in another part of the island; and, three years after, happening to find his gates driven to land, he settled a colony upon the same spot, being in the year 874, whence the Iceland chronicle dates the first peopling their island.

Notwithstanding this account, from pieces of bells, crosses, and books found here, it was evident that some English and Irish had known the country before; and it is certain that the Irish used commonly to come ashore here before the landing of Ingulph, and that they were called by the people *Papa*; for that there were some people, natives of this place, long before, is beyond doubt; and when the Iceland chronicle mentions the place as a wilderness at the coming hither of Ingulph, it implies no more, than that its inhabitants were but few before that time, and then increased and united into colonies: and *Angrim Jonas* mentions, that Ingulph was a Christian; so that it is indisputable that Christianity was propagated here in the ninth century; and the more so, as it is well known all the northern nations were at that time converted. Besides, there is an old Danish chronicle of Greenland; in verse, that says Greenland was first discovered in 770, and another in prose, that expressly affirms the discoverer passed from Norway thro' Iceland: this chronicle is supported by the authority of the great northern apostle *Aufgarius* archbishop of *Hamburgh*, who was collated to that see in 834, by *Lewis the Mild*, emperor of the west; and his patent, which is still to be seen in *Pontanus's* Danish history, sets forth, "that the gates of the gospel are set open," "and



“ and that Jesus Christ has been at length revealed  
“ both in Iceland and Greenland.” Wherefore  
the good emperor returns thanks to God. Now  
as this bears date in 834, and Ingulph did not  
settle in Iceland till forty years after ; it is evident  
he was neither the first person who preached Chri-  
stianity here, nor yet was he the first who peopled  
the island : for to me it appears very plain, that  
Iceland was known to the antients ; and that Thule,  
mentioned by Strabo, is the same country ; and  
Casaubon, in his commentaries upon that great  
geographer, is of the same opinion. We all know  
that Thule was always accounted the last of the  
Britannic islands, at the extremity of the Deücaledo-  
nian, or Scotch sea, which is universally allowed  
to be the situation of Iceland.

The



# The dangerous VOYAGE of Captain THOMAS JAMES, employed to discover the North-west Passage.

## CHAP. I.

*A general account of this undertaking : captain James sets sail upon it with only one ship : they arrive on the coast of Greenland ; are in great danger from the ice ; they lose their boat off Cape Desolation, and recover her with difficulty : the captain goes ashore in the harbour of God's Providence, and afterwards at Price's Cove.*

SOME merchants of Bristol, zealous in their commercial pursuits, as well as for the general advantage of their country, formed themselves into a company about the year 1630, for encouraging a discovery of a north-west passage to the South Sea, and so to Japan. His majesty, king James I. being apprized of their good intentions by Sir Thomas Rowe, of whose embassy to Indostan we have before treated, was graciously pleased to signify his approbation thereof, and to confirm the choice made of captain Thomas James to go upon this expedition. He was a man of integrity, as well as an old experienced sailor, and consequently none better adapted to an undertaking so useful, and yet so dangerous.

May the 3d, 1631, he fell down the channel of Bristol, in a ship of seventy tons burthen, and  
twenty-

twenty-two men. On the 5th the wind coming about contrary, he made Milford haven, where he cast anchor, and continued till the 17th, when taking the advantage of a fair gale, he again set sail, steering as close as possible to the west north-west. June the 4th they had sight of the coast of Greenland, in foggy weather, and stood in, to discover the trending of it.

On the 5th, they found themselves amidst several large pieces of ice, to keep clear of which, as the day was very misty, and the prospect consequently confined, required great dexterity; however, they made fast to one piece for security, and repelled the repeated attacks of the others with poles, which at length broke: the succeeding day the danger seemed to increase, the ice coming upon them on every side, so thick, that it threatened to crush them to pieces, as it had shattered their shallop, the broken parts of which however they recovered by the means of their boat, and brought on deck, intending to rebuild her with the first opportunity: it was not without very great difficulty they forced their way thro' these perilous impediments, by making all the sail possible, and to their great surprise they brought the ship off without the least damage. On the 9th, having made an observation, they found themselves in fifty-nine degrees of north latitude, when they examined very closely, to see if what some people had written, concerning a current setting to the north-east, were true; but they could perceive no signs of any such. The sea was unfathomable, yielding no sort of fish, not even the whale, and the winds were very variable, the mists wetting as bad as rain.

On the 10th, the sea being very rough, and some pieces of ice higher than the main top-mast head swimming in sight, their boat broke from the stern, and was very hardly recovered, two men being



ing thereby desperately bruised ; in the mean time they continued to put their shallop together again upon deck. About eight in the evening they found, by the trending of the land north and by east, that they were off Cape Desolation : the surface of the water round them being black, a phænomen which they attributed to the heavy fogs, and grampusses appearing in great plenty.

The night of the 17th was dark, foggy, and so cold that the sails and rigging were frozen ; at the same time, by the breaking and noise of the waves, they judged themselves nigh the shore ; but morning shewed them that it was no more than a piece of ice : and the Island of Resolution, the southern point of which they endeavoured to double, was in sight at a distance. Here they found a quick tide, but the ebb equally strong with the flood ; the ice, as well as the fog, which was so penetrating as to spoil all the compasses, continuing very troublesome.

As the day cleared up, which it did but for a very short time, they saw the Streights before them thronged and barricadoed with ice, thro' which they strove to penetrate ; but were much intangled, having no ground at two hundred and thirty fathoms, bearing four leagues from shore. On the 20th, in the morning, having doubled the southern point of the Island of Resolution, the wind coming about to the west, drove them together with the ice towards the land, within two leagues of which they met with nothing but short breakers, and large lumps of ice aground, at the depth of forty fathoms ; and here they were met by a strong ebb rushing from the broken grounds of the island, that bore away the ship before it, carrying it thro' innumerable meanders among rocks and ice ; so that, to save themselves from being wrecked, which they now much dreaded, they threw out a kedger and

and grapnels, whereby they made fast, on each side of them, to a piece of ice that drew about ten fathom water, which served them by way of sounding, being so disposed that either one or the other must have run aground before the ship, in case she should have come so near the shore : but this not appearing sufficient to secure the vessel, the boat was hoisted out to search for a port of safety ; but the ice bore upon her so heavily, that the men were forced to quit, and hawl her over it from piece to piece ; in the mean time the kedger and grapnel were broke away from the ship, to recover which the boat was manned anew : yet it was with much difficulty that they caught the kedger, and brought it back to the vessel ; and it was with joy they saw her return ; for having dropped anchor in a shallow rocky bottom, they lost sight of, and gave her up.

Here the vessel being in a very perilous situation, the crew threw out hawsers on the rocks that were near, and every man did his utmost to warp her out into a better birth, where she lay to, and well under shelter of a mountain of ice, till the flood, that brought down large and continual flakes of ice, distressed her exceedingly, tho' the men worked very hard to keep them off. At high water they were almost in despair, being forsaken by their buckler, or that large piece of ice which had before sheltered them, it being now afloat ; but it returned to its moorings, and renewed its protection with the ebb all the following day and night : it blew a rank storm at west, and snowed heavily ; notwithstanding which they made their cables and hawsers fast to the rocks, tho' the ice poured in upon them from the sea, whereby the fluke of their kedger, the arms of the grapnels and their hawsers were broken, as well as their  
shallop



shallop once more almost crushed to bits, the repairing of which required the industry of all hands on board.

The following tide, the ice being very thick, drove her upon a sharp rock, where she was left by the ebb, upon such a heel to seaward, that there was no standing in her; so that the crew went to prayers on a piece of ice, imagining she would never get off; but it beginning to flow unexpectedly, they, to their great satisfaction, once more saw her afloat, and worked hard to remove her from that neighbourhood, tho' they were still in imminent danger. They now laboured to get as much of the ice as they could between them and the rocks, as the less hurtful companions; however, they were forced to hew one piece with their axes, and other strong instruments, for fear of being run down by it. Captain James went on shore, which he could easily do, the ice joining so compactly, as to form one continued footing over the harbour from land to land; and here he built a beacon of stones, and advanced a cross upon it, naming the place the Harbour of God's Providence. In the evening the ice appeared in the harbour thicker than ever, and none went out with the ebb, great part of it running a ground; but the ship lay pretty tight.

On the 23d, captain James went ashore in the boat, on the east side of the island, where he climbed up a high ground, to see if he could possibly descry any place whither to steer the ship, and keep her with more safety than where she then lay; while he was upon this search, he heard a most terrible loud noise, which arose from a very large piece of ice splitting near the ship, into four pieces; but however it luckily happened at such a distance as to do no manner of damage.

Having



Having spied out a proper cove, he sent the boat round to the vessel, which was soon unmoored, and hauled up into it, where having made her fast to the rocks, captain James ventured on shore, and found the land rocky and uneven, without so much as a blade of grass, or the smallest sign of vegetation. As the ponds were frozen, fowls were not to be expected as yet; and there was no sign of either bears or deer; however, they saw one or two foxes: and, from a few fire-brands, fox-bones, and embers, it was easy to see there had been lately some of the savages: yet it was wonderful to think what should have invited them thither, as the soil was entirely barren, and the sea void of fish.

The captain called this, Price's Cove, Price being the name of his ship's master; it is in latitude sixty one degrees, twenty-four minutes. From the high grounds here they could see Sir Thomas Button's Islands. They left this place on the 24th, steering out betwixt two hills of ice that were a-ground in forty fathom water; and tho' they had clear water within a league of the north shore of the Island of Resolution, and that the wind blew hard from the east, the ice poured in upon them from the open sea, with such violence, that there was room to fear it would grate some of the planks from the ship's side; and thus they continued driving among the ice, without being able, even from the top-mast head, to see to the distance of half a quarter of a mile, till the 26th, when the weather cleared, and the sun shone out a little. They had a bottom of small white sand at an hundred and forty fathoms; but no sign of fish, tho' the men hung out lines well baited. The nights still continued very cold, and the rigging froze; nor did the ice on fresh water ponds begin yet to break.

## C H A P. II.

*James begins to despair of the north-west passage : Hudson's Streights described : the crew put to half allowance : they hope for a free passage ; but are disappointed : the boat sent on a discovery : they meet captain Fox's ship : they compliment each other : their bread spoiled by the sea : the ship drives on the rocks, but is got off.*

THEY continued sailing about the coast till the 5th of July, when the weather being pretty clear, and the view round them more free than it had hitherto been, they saw the sea to a vast extent of north-north-west quite filled with ice ; from whence captain James saw it would be vain for him to pursue his discovery of a north-west passage that year.

Hudson's Streights are about an hundred and twenty leagues long ; they begin at the Island of Resolution, and end at Digges's Island, trending away for the most part west north-west and east south-east, betwixt Digges's Island and Cape Charles : they are twenty leagues broad, but in other parts not more than fifteen. Here is a certain tide, but no current ; and the north shore is freest from ice. On the south is a large bay, and the main land is high on each side.

On the 16th of July, captain James convinced that it was too late to attempt the north-west passage, steered west south-west towards Mansfield's Island, which at three o' clock in the afternoon of the ensuing day they gained sight of, receiving many dismal shocks from the ice in their course : here the crew was put to half allowance of bread ; and two men complained of sickness, but





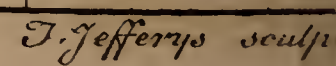
*Eskimaux Indians, Natives of Hudson's Bay.*













but soon recovered. The boat being sent ashore to sound, it was found that the water flowed from west south-west three foot, and that at the highest tide it did not rise more than two fathom. Here were some marks of the savages all along the shore ; for the ship stood off and on a good way down, but there was no drift-wood, beast, nor fish ; nor any thing useful but a few fowls, one of which they shot.

On the 18th, in the morning, they set sail, intending to fall in with the western land, in latitude sixty-three or thereabouts ; and after steering for a short while, thro' what they began to hope was an open sea, they fell in with thick ruts of ice, in which they were sometimes fast locked up, and at other times free to go forward assisted by the wind. In the evening of the 20th of August they came to an anchor off a point of land trending away to the southward, and having near it two small islands ; they called this the New Principality of South Wales, drinking to the health of Charles then Prince of Wales. At this time the weather was calm ; but the wind rose the ensuing night, and the ship drove in such a manner as made them imagine they had lost their anchor ; wherefore they heaved in the cable, by the means of the capstan, in doing which they found the anchor had hitched ; and upon the chopping of the sea, the men were thrown with such force from the capstan, that they were all sorely bruised, and one of them had like to have lost his head, by being entangled in the bite of the cable : Mr. Price the master narrowly avoided breaking his leg ; and the gunner's foot was wrung off at the ankle, so that he was forced to have his whole leg cut off at the knee, to prevent a mortification. In the mean time she drove into shoal water, but the anchor taking place secured the ship. On the

22d they weighed anchor again, and on the 27th, in the morning, were in five fathom water, and sent the boat ashore for discovery, with written orders for her guidance, and a strict charge for the men to return in the evening, an order which they did not obey : her delay gave captain James great uneasiness, which was considerably increased when he found both his shot and false fires spent in vain ; for certain signals being agreed on, which were not answered, they supposed she was either lost, or that the people in her had fallen a prey to the savages ; and this they had greater reason to fear, as they saw a fire on shore, not at all answering theirs. Their prospect was, at this time, very dismal, for they had not hands sufficient on board to weigh anchor or manage the ship ; however, it brightened with the return of the boat, which it seems had been retarded by a very unexpected and sudden ebb, that obliged the men on board her to wait the rising of the tide. They reported that some wood grew on the land, and that there was a good deal thrown on shore by the waves ; they could discern no sign of inhabitants, but saw store of fowl, of which they killed some, and traced the footsteps both of bears and deer on the snow : they also reported they had forded two small rivers, and tried a third, which was too deep for them to cross.

In the morning of the 29th, a ship was discovered about four leagues to the leeward ; it proved to be a king's ship, commanded by captain Fox, who exchanged with them the usual salutes. That evening they sent their boat on board of him, and the following day he and some of his officers repaid the visit, and were received in the best manner circumstances would permit. Next morning she stood away to the south south-west, and was soon out of sight.

This



This month terminated in snow and hail, and the weather was as severe as it is commonly in England in the depth of winter.

On the 1st of September they coasted along shore, in shallow water, and as the day cleared up made shift to work out of this dangerous bay. From the 2d to the 10th they laboured in various sorts of weather, never losing sight of land, and meeting with weather so very severe on the 4th and 6th, that they thought they should not be able to hold it out much longer. The wind blew a most dreadful hurricane, accompanied with hail and snow; the sea, which ran mountains high, washed over deck, poured into the hold, and made its way into the bread-room, where it spoiled almost all the provision.

On the 11th, they made an island in fifty-two degrees and forty-five minutes, on which the captain went ashore in the boat, and afterwards sent some of the men to another part of it; but neither he nor they could find the smallest verdure, not so much as a little forrel, scurvy-grass, or the least relief for the sick men. On the 12th, in the morning, the wind blowing hard at south-east, the ship ran upon the rocks, thro' the neglect of those who were on deck; and now a wreck seeming inevitable, the carpenter's tools, a barrel of bread, a barrel of powder, six muskets, a tinder-box and matches, with fishing-hooks, lines, pitch and oakum, were sent ashore to serve in extremity.

In the mean time they clewed up all the sails, laid out an anchor to heave her astern, threw out all the coals, staved the water in the hold, and set the pump to work, to get it out in order to lighten the ship, intending to have done the same with the beer; at length, after continuing more than five hours to strike most dreadfully, so that it seemed her bottom could not last, she beat over the



rocks, in a very leaky condition, which they went about to cure as soon as she was got into deep water, and secured by an anchor. After this adventure it began to blow hard at west south-west; and had this gale sprung up while she was on the rocks, it would have been impossible to have saved her.

On the 13th they weighed anchor, and stood to the westward; but there being no anchoring ground that promised safety, it was resolved to take a northward course, and make for the bottom of Hudson's Bay, thence to endeavour to find a passage into the river of Canada; and if that failed, to winter on the main land, which must be preferable to the present comfortless, as well as very dangerous station among rocks, flats, and islands. In the evening of the 14th it blew very hard, the seas ran high, and the shallop, which was fastened astern in tow with two hawsers, shipped a huge sea and was sunk; so that she was inevitably lost, and the ship had only one boat left, and that in a very crazy condition: however, before night they found a safe anchoring-place in an opening; one side of which was formed by Lord Weston's Island, and here the men had some rest: remaining till the 19th, during all which time the wind was high, and the snow very violent; so that they feared putting out their boat, and kept her on deck.

On the 19th, the wind coming about to north north-east, they stood out to the southward; but about noon, the wind chopping about south, they anchored off the Earl of Bristol's Island; and while in this place the carpenter repaired the boat, the captain went ashore, but found not the least mark of a living creature having ever been on it before: and now finding that the wind seemed fixed in a northerly point, so that Hudson's Bay was not to be reached, they began to look out for a wintering place elsewhere. Some named Port Nelson; but

but the captain excepted against it, not only for the danger of the place itself, but the difficulty of getting thither thro' the ice; and for this reason he determined to look out for some convenient creek to the southward.

On the 22d the captain ventured to land upon an island in latitude fifty-two degrees and ten minutes, which he called Sir Thomas Rowe's Island; but the wind changing while he was ashore, it was with much difficulty he recovered the ship. The weather, while they continued here, was very changeable, and intollerably cold; besides, the shoals upon which they were almost every moment driven by the tide, threatened them with inevitable destruction; however, here they staid till about the 30th.

## C H A P. III.

*Heavy snow: the ship is all frozen over: a bevel erected ashore for the sick: the island appears to be entirely barren: a man lost: a stinking pond found out: a good well sunk: their bevel is in danger of being burned: the gunner dies, and is buried in the sea: the ship is run aground, and all hands leave her: the captain makes a speech to the men: they undertake building a pinnace.*

ON the 1st of October they got under sail; but could make scarcely any way for the multiplicity of sand-banks. On the 4th, the captain went ashore on the earl of Danby's Islands; but found nothing except a few berries. On the 7th it snowed so violently, that they were forced to clear the deck of it with shovels; and the snow being frozen over all parts of the ship, she appeared like a lump of ice; the sun which shone out the following day, not being strong enough to have

the slightest effect upon it. The cold now increased so much that they could scarcely preserve any thing from freezing, even by the fire side; and as for the sails they were now of no manner of use, being quite spoiled with the ice.

As several of the men were very sickly, the carpenter and some of the crew, by way of assistants, set about erecting a hovel for them on the shore, to see if that would contribute to restore them, while the captain, with some attendants, ranged the island in search of inhabitants; but found not any thing that could be of the least use to the people: though he was fatigued with wading through the snow, which reached up to the middle of the leg. In the mean time, the sailors on board took down the top-sails, and folded them up, laying them carefully between decks, after they had dried them at a good fire made on the hearth in the hatchway.

On the 12th, the main-sail sheet, being first thawed by the fire, was carried ashore to cover the newly erected hovel; after which, the six persons who had raised it, being furnished with two greyhounds which the captain had brought out to assist in killing deer, or other game, as well as with muskets and other furniture, were permitted to lie ashore all night.

On the 13th, some of the men desired leave to traverse the country; which being granted, with a charge that they should keep together, and look out for a convenient harbour for the ship, they went, and returned on the 15th with a small lean deer, which they had cut into quarters; they reported they had seen a few more, but no sign of any other beast, nor yet of inhabitant nor port. On the 13th, William Clements the lieutenant went on the same errand, with five of the crew, and reaped nothing but hardship in their progress: during



ring which they lost one of their hands whose name was John Barton : he was gunner's mate, and sunk in attempting to cross the ice of a pond that stood in the way rather than go a little about.

On the 1st of November the captain overhauled the steward's account of the ship's provision, which he found very exact, and things well husbanded. On the 9th, the boat with great difficulty coming ashore, because of the snow and ice, brought from the ship a barrel of beer ; it froze firmly, and being thawed in a kettle over the fire, contracted a most disagreeable taste, which caused them to seek the means of breaking the ice of a neighbouring pond ; but thereout issuing a most lothsome smell, orders were given for none to touch it, lest it should be infectious : this disappointment induced them to sink a well near their dwelling, which afforded them excellent water that seemed sweet and nourishing as milk.

On the 12th, their house took fire, but the flame was soon extinguished, and this accident taught them to keep stricter watch ; very large fires being absolutely necessary. On the 22d, the gunner, whose leg was cut off, died, and was buried in the sea, at a good distance from the ship ; he had been indulged with as much sack as he could drink for about three days before his death ; and his bottle, that contained it, often froze at his bed's head, as did the plaister at his wound, though he was covered with a load of cloaths, and a pan of live coals was kept constantly in his cabin, which was made up as close as could be, in the gun-room.

On the 23d, the ship was in manifest danger of being driven from her moorings by several pieces of ice running foul of her, the least of them a quarter of a mile over, and they strained the cable considerably : in this extremity the crew fired sig-

nals of distress, which were answered by the hands a-shore, who were not able to go off to her assistance; however, they made towards her in the boat, as soon as ever day permitted; and then it was determined to run her a-ground, in order to preserve her as long as possible; for it was evident that neither cables nor anchors would hold her long against the driving ice and high winds.

When this resolution was agreed on, she was run in as close upon the shore as could be, and the provisions and powder sent in the boat to the hovel: tho' she was bedded in two feet depth of sand, she continued to beat very violently; on which the captain ordered the carpenter to bore a hole with an auger in her bottom, and in about six hours the water rose upon her, not without having broken into the powder and bread-rooms, and otherwise damaged her between decks; after which she began to settle; and they helped her down with throwing into the hold her cables, spare anchors, and other luggage, among which was the surgeon's chest. This was on the 29th, in the evening, when they took to the boat, being seventeen in all; and the water was so thick congealed with snow, that it was with much hardship they reached the shore, by double manning four oars, and appointing four others to relieve them; and they were so altered with adhesive snow and ice, that on their landing they scarce knew each other.

When they had hauled up the boat, it being now dark, they groped their way to their hovel, where having made a good fire, they regaled upon water melted before it, and some bread: then they entered into a debate concerning their situation; and tho' the carpenter gave it as his opinion that the ship was quite foundered, and if not quite so, that she was rendered useless by the loss of

of



of her rudder ; yet the captain thought otherwise, and encouraged his people to keep up their spirits with a well-worded speech, in which he observed to them, That their present condition was very deplorable ; yet a reliance upon that Providence, which never forsakes those who confide in it, would convince them of its efficacy ; that they had numberless examples of people being reduced to circumstances rather worse than theirs, and either finding or procuring relief at times when it was scarcely to be expected ; that a pinnacle might at the worst be built out of the wreck of the ship, in case she was irretrievably lost, with which, the Divine Providence assisting, they might once more be enabled to reach Old England. To this hint the carpenter answered, No industry of his should be wanting, towards extricating them out of this place ; that if the crew would aid him, he imagined the island on which they were produced timber enough proper for building a pinnacle, without meddling with the ship, which might by some good chance, be again rendered more useful than now seemed probable. And all the men replying, they would do their utmost to help forward whatever work he should undertake for the public good, the captain promised a liberal reward to the industrious, and to the carpenter, by way of encouragement, gave ten pounds worth of plate immediately, assuring him, that in case he completed the pinnacle, on their arrival in England he would make him a present of that, and of five pounds besides.

On the 30th the surgeon played the barber, and cut the hair and beards of the whole ship's company, which were so strung with icicles as to become very painful.

On the 1st of December some of the men made way in the boat, thro' the thick congealed water, to the ship's side, to bring some necessaries ashore ;



but night coming on, they were obliged to lie on board, being almost starved with cold, tho' they made a shift to light up a fire upon the deck. The following day was so extremely cold, that the way to the ship was quite frozen, and the men walked ashore over the ice with five hundred dry fish, some cloaths and bedding, which were quite spoiled with the wet; however, in such circumstances as those of the captain and his people at that time, any covering that contributed to warmth was welcome.

On the 3d, the weather being something milder, some of the men saved themselves, with difficulty, from being drowned in crossing the ice, which broke under them; and the wind being westerly, such pieces of ice as were loose drove out to sea, and in their passage in some measure damaged the ship as they rubbed by her. And now the men having dug the boat out from among the ice that surrounded it, endeavoured to hoist her in upon the deck of the ship; but all their whole strength united being insufficient to raise her all the way, they were obliged to leave her suspended in the tackles by the ship's side, a foot or two below the surface of the deck.

The time from this day to the 18th was spent in bringing to the hovel, and a new store-house erected near it, such provision and other necessaries as remained to be brought from the ship, while the carpenter and some assisting hands were collecting wood for the pinnace; but many of those who laboured at this work had their fingers, cheeks, noses, and other tender parts frozen as white as snow itself, which fell very fast; and the cold daily increased, raising very large blisters on those who exposed themselves too openly or too suddenly to the fire.

Their spring-well being now frozen up, so that they could not find water for digging, they were  
reduced

reduced to the necessity of drinking snow-water, a beverage every way unwholesome, causing ugly eruptions, and shortness of breath : even their sack, vinegar, oil and brandy became like pieces of wood, and they were obliged to hew them with hatchets for use; nay, the frost was so severe as to penetrate within a yard of the fire-side, tho' the door was kept close shut. The snow fell so thick that it reached near the height of the roof of the house; so that they were obliged to cut a passage thro' it, and keep that passage clear by shoveling away the new fallen snow every day; and this consolidating served for the captain's gallery and sick mens walk, the surface of it being a yard above the ground at least.

About this time captain James recollecting, that on his first landing he had discovered a good spring by the foot of a hill at a little distance, near which he had ordered two or three trees to be cut down by way of mark, sent some of the men to search for it, who soon found the place; and, shoveling away the snow, came to its head, and brought him a cann of it, whereby he was considerably refreshed. This discovery proved of great service to these distressed people; for the spring ran strongly the whole year, and if the severest weather froze the passage to it, it was so triflingly, that it was easily set open.

It being now Christmas, they observed that sacred festival with as much solemnity as possible; and on St. John's day agreed to call the place of their abode Winter's Forest, in memory of Sir John Winter.

## CHAP. IV.

*They begin the new year with some astronomical observations: an attempt at accounting for the generation of ice: the people grew very sickly: various effects of the cold: the carpenter is disabled: they lose their boat, and endeavour to raise the ship.*

ON the 6th of January, an observation being taken, the sun shining very clear, Winter's Forest was found to be in fifty-one degrees and fifty-two minutes, a difference caused by the great rarefaction that prevails here.

On the 21st, the sun, when just risen above the horizon, appeared of an oval figure, but by degrees seemed to reassume its common form as it rose.

On the 30th and 31st, all the Via Lactea, the cloud in Cancer and the Pleiades appeared to be full of small stars, as was the whole skie, beyond, says captain James, any night he had ever before seen; but more than one fourth of them were soon eclipsed in the moon's lustre which shone out about ten o' clock at night. In the beginning of this month, the sea had been all over frozen, so that no water was to be seen; and the wind was for the most part northerly, and excessively cold: the few intermitting hours that were tollerably mild were employed in bringing wood for firing, working at the pinnacle, and keeping the avenues cut from the dwelling and store-house, thro' the snow, from being blocked up.

Captain James, in his journal, endeavours thus to account for the generation of that ice, which hereabouts covers the surface of the sea. After the middle of September, says he, it seldom rains, but snows daily very heavily; and this snow falling  
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at ebb in large quantities, upon the shoals and sand banks, of which there are great numbers in this bay, is carried out by the flood, and meeting together on the surface, coagulates and unites from the different parts; besides, the first strong obstacle, such as an island or ledge of rocks that it meets with, impedes the progress of the whole mass, which is increased and extended by the additional snows washed off by every tide, which at length becoming so thick as almost to stagnate the water, is in that state of inaction rendered more fit to sustain the impression of the weather, and form into one extensive plate of ice.

The cold was as severe the whole month of February as it had been at any time in the whole year, and its dismal effects were bitterly felt by those curious adventurers, loosening their teeth, swelling their gums, and putting them to such pain that they could not eat their victuals; and most of them afforded the surgeon daily opportunities of improving his practice.

Abroad, the air was scarce to be endured, no cloaths being proof against its penetration; for it froze over the hair and eye-lids, so as almost to suffocate those who opposed it. The walls of the dwelling were hung with icicles; even the bed-cloaths, which were almost close to the fire, were covered with white frost; and the water in the tub wherein the cook freshened his meat, froze to the bottom during one watch that he slept, tho' it was not a yard from the fire: after this accident he put it into a brass kettle close to the fire, and even there, while the water next it was warm, that on the other side was frozen an inch deep very often; and tho' the surgeon took what care he could of his syrups and other medicaments, they underwent the same fate; nor could the clock nor watches  
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be protected from its influence: nay, the ground was frozen ten feet below the surface.

Notwithstanding all these extremities, the men did their best to perform the necessary work, tho' they had no shoes; what they had being quite destroyed between the snow and the fire, wherefore they were forced to wrap clouts about their feet as warmly as they could contrive.

On the 15th of March, one of the men imagining he had seen a deer, engaged two or three others to go, with the captain's leave, in pursuit of it; but they returned at night successful, and so disabled with cold, that they could not stir for a fortnight after, having their legs and the soles of their feet covered with blisters as big as walnuts; and three others who roved out upon the same account a few days after, were rather worse off, for they were near perishing in the cold. The providing timber for fuel, as well as for working the pinnace, was attended with much difficulty; for the hatchets and axes were all either broke in the blades, sockets, or handles; yet these were the only instruments they had to cut down trees and form them: besides, it was very difficult to find wood fit for firing; that which was green causing such a smoke as almost to suffocate those who sat round it, and a species of turpentine issued from that which was dry, causing also a smoke, which tho' not so intollerable as the other, yet covered them with soot, and made them look like a parcel of chimney-sweepers.

In the month of April, the carpenter, who had for some time past been carried out to work, and four men besides, became so infirm that they werenot able to move; and the boatswain with several others sickened apace; so that there were but five men left who could eat their allowance: yet, with their assistance, the captain determined,

mined, as the weather was growing more mild, to dig out the ice which lay in the ship, that they might have her in greater readiness to make the best use of at a proper season. And for this work they had but two iron bars, and four broken shovels; it was his intention to heap the ice which he had dug out of her, on her larboard bow, and by such means form a barricado to prevent her from being damaged when the ice should break in the bay; which it was to be feared might, in her present crazy condition, shatter her all to pieces. On the 6th of April fell larger and thicker snow than any they had hitherto seen upon this place; for that, which was common here, was small and dry as dust, and drove before the wind, so as to endanger the eyes and throats of such as faced it.

It was remarkable, that in cloudy dull weather, an island bearing south south-east, four leagues from Winter's Forest, was plainly to be seen from the lowest station; and yet in clear sunny weather it was not to be discerned even from an eminence; the reason of this is, that a mist or gentle fog performs the office of a magnifying-glass.

On the 16th, being a comfortable sun-shiny day, they cleared the ship's deck of snow, and made a good fire in her cabin to dry her. On the 17th they dug up her anchor from under the ice, in shoal water, and brought it on board; and indeed they found they had no recourse but to make the best they could of the ship; for the boat was bulged, and, at the best, too small to do them any service, as it was neither large enough to stow all the men, nor strong enough to live upon the main sea; besides, the carpenter being past hope of recovery, their pinnace could be of no advantage to them. On the 19th, the master and two others chose to lie on board, that they might withdraw themselves from the lamentation and outcries of their



their sick shipmates, which were very melancholy, nor had their bedding during the whole winter been in the least comfortable ; but their chance was no worse than that of the rest of the ship's crew.

On the 23d they pierced a cask of beer, which they dug out of the hold ; and tho' it was little better than bilge-water, it gave them all great satisfaction.

The best part of this month was consumed in stopping the holes they had bored in the ship to sink her, in repairing her other damages, and freeing her from the ice and snow that overwhelmed her ; it was a work, such of the hands as were able pursued with great alacrity : and by the 28th, the cook, by pouring into them water boiling hot, and that incessantly, had set both pumps free from the ice, and they delivered water very well. On the 29th it rained all day long, which gave them great joy, as it was a certain sign that winter was broke up, and about to give place to a gentler season ; and tho' it hailed, snowed, and was very cold the 30th and 31st, yet the rain had given them such spirits, that on May eve they toasted their respective mistresses in the best liquor they had, over a good fire.

## C H A P. V.

*In weighing up the ship they arrive at some useful stores : they lose two of their men : the snow begins to melt fast : they find their rudder : James's opinion with respect to the generation of muskettoes : the ship is launched, and they prepare to quit Winter's Forest : the whole island is set on fire.*

THE thaw increased as May grew old, tho' the weather was so bitter on the 2d, that those who had any strength durst not stir over their threshold ; and it made the sick, who swooned at being turned in their beds, so very sore, that they were more peevish than ever. On the 4th, as the melted snow began to lie in plasnes, some cranes and geese made their appearance, but were so very fearful that there was no getting at them ; the captain and surgeon endeavoured it for above two hours, but got nothing for their trouble, but such violent aches, for they had waded thro' the new thawed snow in many places, that James declared he thought, without exaggerating, he should have lost his legs. On the 6th, they buried John Warden, the master's chief mate, on the top of a neighbouring sandy hill, which they called Brandon Hill.

On the 9th they heaved out of the hold five barrels of beef and pork, four butts of beer, and a cask of cyder, which was well flavoured, and had by some providential chance been finely preserved.

On the 12th, they came at the store-shoes which had lain all winter in the water ; yet, they were very serviceable, and every man fitted himself with a pair when they were dried by the fire ; they also found a tierce of wine, but hard frozen ; but what they had most reason to lament was the loss of their rudder, for which they searched among  
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the ice in the neighbourhood of the ship, to no manner of purpose.

On the 14th, the boatswain, with some hands to help, laboured hard to get ready the rigging, and clear it from the ice, while the cooper, tho' very infirm, made up and refitted some casks, it being the captain's intention, if he could not get the ship otherwise easily off, to pass some cables under her, and buoy her up with casks. The same day the captain having made bullets with some old pewter and the aprons of guns, for they would not touch the carpenter's sheet lead, went out to kill wild fowl for the sick: and on the 15th he manured a small slip of ground that was free from snow, and sowed it with pease, in hopes to have some few greens for the use of the men, to which they had been strangers since their landing here.

On the 18th died William Cole the carpenter, he having before his death nearly completed the pinnacle, which was a well proportioned vessel, of about fourteen tons burthen, twenty-seven feet by the keel, ten feet by the beam, and five feet in hold: this man was buried close by the master's mate on Brandon-hill. In the evening of the same day, the body of the gunner, who died six months before, was discovered with his head downwards among the ice, just under the gun-room ports; the captain ordered it to be dug out and buried with the rest. It was remarkable, that he sent forth no noisome smell, the plaister was sticking to his wound, and he was very little altered, except that his flesh hung very loose on his bones. The snows by this time were pretty well fallen all over the island; but there was no sign of the ice breaking in the bay, tho' the sun was often pretty warm till the 24th, when it began to crack with a most dreadful noise; soon after which signal it broke  
and.



and drove with the tide, and then appeared the advantage of the barricado ; for it was plain that it protected the ship from being dashed to pieces ; and the same day one David Harmon striking his lance down among the ice, luckily hit upon and brought up the rudder. On the 30th, they launched their boat, and the passage about the ship was quite free for her to paddle in, a sight that gave great joy to the whole ship's crew. This day they found some vetches, which were boiled for the sick ; they also had prepared their sails and rigging, dried their fish, and aired their provision, there being only the captain and master able to eat any thing salt.

In the beginning of June there was so severe a return of cold, that things once again froze under roofs ; however, it passed off ; and on the 11th, after having laboured at it five or six days, they made a shift to hang the rudder ; and the vetches, which were every day gathered, and divided among the broth given to the men, or eaten with oil and vinegar, proved wonderful restoratives : they began daily to recruit, they were able to eat beef, their teeth being refastened, and the swelling of their gums reduced.

On the 10th of this month there was some thunder and lightning, and the weather was so hot, that several of the sailors diverted themselves with swimming : in the ponds were plenty of a sort of frogs, which the men feared eating, lest they should have proved toads : the ground swarmed with ants, and the air was full of butterflies, and several other species of flies, particularly muskettoes, which were excessively troublesome : it was the opinion of captain James, that they revived from the rotten wood, in which the winter's cold confined them in an inactive state.

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On the 17th, they made a shift, having lightened the ship of every thing, to heave her off into a foot and a half deeper water, where they moored her; and on the evening of the 22d, they towed her into her old anchoring place, where she had rode the preceding year, taking care to keep her clear of the driving sea. The 23d, they shipped some provisions, being forced to wade to the boat with them, at least a musket shot's length; and on the 24th they made a cross of one of the highest trees in the island, to which they affixed the pictures of king Charles and his queen, well drawn, but close wrapped in lead, so that no air could possibly affect them; and underneath were inserted his titles, viz.

Charles king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, also of Newfoundland, and the territories to the westward as far as Nova Albion; and to the northward to the latitude of eighty degrees.

On the outside of the lead they nailed a shilling and a sixpence of king Charles's coin, and under it his arms, beneath which were those of Bristol city, both neatly cast in lead. This cross thus ornamented, they erected over their dead companions on the top of Brandon Hill; at the same time taking possession of the land in his most sacred majesty's name.

On the 25th, the boatswain with some of the best hands to assist him, set about rigging the ship, and putting the provisions and other necessaries on board. About ten in the morning of the same day, captain James, accompanied by one of the sailors, took a lance, a musket, and some fuel to kindle a fire near a very high tree, which they called the Watch-tree, and used often to climb, because it afforded a good prospect. It was the captain's intention to observe, while the fire was burning, whether it would be answered by another fire



fire, or any particular signal; whereby he might obtain a knowledge of the manner in which this place was inhabited.

He had scarcely settled himself on the top of his observatory, before he perceived that his attendant had unadvisedly fired some brambles to the windward of him, which catching hold of the dry stubble or furze that ran among the trees, communicated the flame, which ran from one to another with great rapidity; bending its direct course towards that in which the captain had fixed his station, and that so quickly that it reached it before he could get down; wherefore he was obliged to make a leap at the hazard of his neck, and tho' he made what haste he could, the fire seemed to pursue and follow close at his heels; it continued to burn, spreading over the whole island all night long; and the wind shifting in the morning brought it down upon the little village, if we may call it so, of the ship's company; and they had scarcely carried away all their things, before it laid hold of their house and store-house, which it burned to ashes. It came down with a violent crackling-noise, in breadth more than a mile, and continued its devastation for two days, consuming all before it. The 26th at night, they all lay on board, and thought themselves happier than ever they had been in their lives before.

The 27th, 28th and 29th, they brought their water, and timber for fuel on board, part of which was the pinnace, which having no use for, they had cut down. By this time the bay was quite clear of ice, no marks of which were to be seen; it being all gone to the northward. The season was certainly very unwholesome, for in the day-time, the heat, which was considerably increased by the sandy soil, was intollerable; yet at night it would



would freeze over the ponds to the depth of an inch : but no other inconveniency equalled the stinging of the muskettoes, against which there was scarcely any defence to be made ; for tho' they made bags to put their heads in, out of pieces of the ensign, which they tore for that purpose, these insects would make their way thro', and raise hard pimples on the skin, which caused very violent itching.

## C H A P. VI.

*They find some scurvy-grass, and after a few days more quit the island. A description of the place.*

THE 1st of July being Sunday, they hoisted the ship's colours, and adorned her in the best manner they could ; after which the crew walked in procession to the place whereon they had erected the cross, which being quite a sandy hill, had escaped the conflagration ; here having heard prayers read by the captain, they dined, and spent the remainder of the day in climbing the hills ; and according to the best calculation they could make, it appeared that the conflagration had extended more than sixteen miles : in the evening they found an herb like scurvy grass, of which they gathered a large quantity, and it proved, when boiled, a most agreeable food.

And now they determined to quit this place entirely, but first the captain having drawn up a brief account of his expedition by way of letter, for information of any person who should chance to touch here after him, enclosed it in a leaden cover, and affixed it to the cross under the king's arms : then they put off in the boat, and they never after set foot upon Winter's Forest, or Charlton island ; for to this name they had changed it  
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on the 29th of May, in honour of the prince of Wales, afterwards Charles the second.

However, before we attend them in their voyage home, it may perhaps afford some little entertainment, if we give a short account of this island in general, and the manner in which captain James's people made out the winter.

Charlton island, we have observed before, lies in latitude fifty-one degrees fifty-two minutes; the soil is a small white sand, which drives like dust before the wind, and often proved extremely troublesome; it is covered with a low white moss, interspersed with thickets of shrubs, and several trees of spruce and juniper, the trunks of the largest of which were not more than a foot and a half diameter. They killed one deer, and saw a few others when they first landed, but had very little or no view of them afterwards; there were two or three other sorts of four-legged animals, besides bears, and foxes, and they killed some dozen of the latter, which were boiled for the use of the sick, being caught in traps: here were also some few ducks, geese, and white partridges in the month of May, some of which they shot; but their ammunition chanced to be soon exhausted. As for fish they seemed to be unknown to the climate, there not being the slightest mark of any, except two or three cockle shells, which had nothing in them.

The place which James chose to winter in, was a tuft of thick trees under cover of a southern bank, which protected him from the violence of the north wind. At first he found much difficulty to erect any sort of habitation; for to try sinking a room under ground was fruitless, there being water every where within two or three feet of the surface: they could get no stones to raise a wall, for the few that appeared on the island, were on his first coming hither buried beneath the snow;



snow; and there was no earth with which they could form mud walls; for the sand was of such a nature, that it could be wrought to no consistency. However, they remedied these great inconveniencies as well as possible, by driving stakes into the ground pretty close to each other, and running wattles between them, which when beaten down hard, formed a sort of bulwark against the severity of the weather; this was about six feet high, and at each end was left a large hole almost reaching to the top of the building, which served for the different purposes of admitting light, affording an exit to the smoke, and an entry to the inhabitants: at a little distance were laid piles of trees six feet high, and six a cross, besides which at both ends thick rows of bushes, and over all these were hung the main yard and other sails, which reached down to the ground, and were no inconsiderable addition to the warmth of the place, which was quite square, being twenty feet every way. Within side, in the very middle, was an hearth for firing; and round about, the men erected bedsteads supported by stakes, more than a foot from the ground, on which over the spare sails they spread their beds and bed-cloaths; on the floor they laid boards to prevent as much as possible the damps from affecting them, at least within doors.

At the distance of twenty feet from this was erected a second habitation, not quite so large as the first; on the south side of which, instead of stakes, there was a pile of sea-chests, and here all the victuals were drest, and the subordinate crew generally spent the day.

Twenty paces from this was a sort of storehouse, in which was kept bread, fish, and other provision, laid about two feet from the ground, in such a manner as to preserve them dry: this last house was only a rough large tree sustained by  
rafters,



rafters, and strong boughs, and covered over with the new suit of sails.

Their provision consisted of salt beef, pork, fish, &c. of which they had a stock that would serve for eighteen months and longer, if husbanded, as it certainly was, with care. The manner in which the cook dealt it out was this. On Sunday, he gave them for dinner pork and pease, and for supper beef and porridge, which had been boiled sufficiently on Saturday night to freshen it, and when re-heated, proved an excellent cordial, after this they generally had a course of fish; and in the same manner the beef which was provided for any particular day, was got ready the preceding night: those who by the foreness of their mouths were prevented from sharing the mess, fed either on oatmeal or pounded bread fried in oil, or pease boiled to pap: their common drink was water; but the weak and sickly were allowed a pint of alicant daily, and a dram of brandy every morning, tho' the spirit of both those liquors was almost destroyed by their being frozen; a misfortune which nothing could prevent. However, when they had a mind to make merry, they mixed one quart of wine with seven quarts of water, and tho' this was a very weak potion, they found it exhilarated their spirits in some measure.

Monday July the 2d, all hands were up early in the morning, and having put all things to rights, they weighed anchor chearfully, and stood over for Danby island to take in more wood, the wind being north-west; and the ship wearing gallantly, to all appearance free from damage, and sufficiently able to outlast their intended voyage.

While the men were employed in gathering wood on Danby island, the captain pulled up, to examine them, some stakes, that seemed to have been cut sharp at both ends with a hatchet or some

other iron tool ; with the head of which, it was apparent, they had been driven into the ground, about a place where there were evident marks of fire : and this discovery whetted the captain's desire to come to a conference with some of the savages, whereby he hoped to be enabled to increase his knowledge of the situation of these parts, and perhaps start some commerce that might turn out beneficial to his country ; but this was a hope that he vainly indulged, for no inhabitants of any sort appeared.

About four in the afternoon he returned on board, and the wind coming about contrary, he came to anchor for that night off Charlton island ; from whence he bore away to the west the following day, and about noon discovered a large quantity of ice to the northward, and soon after saw the western land all frozen : the channel in which they now were was very dangerous, full of rocks and shoals ; wherefore they were obliged to keep the lead continually going.

## C H A P. VII.

*Various observations made in their voyage home, and some reasons offered against the probability of a north-west passage.*

FROM the 5th to the 21st, they made very little way, being either retarded by fogs so thick as almost to blind them, or by the ice, which drove against them with such force, that they often feared, from the repeated shocks, their ship would be shattered to pieces, but she happily outrid it all with great steadiness ; indeed the hatches were kept open, that the men might have frequent opportunities of examining and repairing any damage that might befall her.

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The 22d, after a rough boisterous night, and a stinking thick fog, as it cleared up, they saw land, and knew it to be Cape Henrietta Maria; they stood in for it, and the captain and some of the men went ashore, with the dogs and arms, in hope to have taken or killed some deer, of which they saw many herds; but tho' they endeavoured to surprize them, they could not bring down one, for the game took care to keep beyond the reach of gun-shot, and easily outstripped the dogs. Captain James turned them both adrift upon the island, being a dog and a bitch, one of them having a collar round the neck; the reason he gave for leaving them here, was that he had brought them out for the purpose of catching deer, in which since it was plain they could not be serviceable, keeping them longer on board was to no purpose; they being troublesome and inconvenient, stealing the meat out of the water in which it was left to steep, and being in many other respects mischievous.

In the evening, they returned on board, and stood out to sea, the wind blowing fair from the south; they soon fell in amongst shattered pieces of ice, and came into shoal water, but tacking a little to the northward, it deepened again: as the ice bore very hard upon them, all hands were ordered upon deck to man the poles, to each of which there was a necessity for having four men; and with these they made a shift to keep it pretty well off, tho' it often overmastered their utmost efforts, and came with violent shocks against her side, two of the poles being broken off short. In extremities of this sort, they laboured for more than six weeks, every day exposed to the rudest assaults, sometimes using their sails, and having sometimes recourse to their anchors, when they could get a little into open water; sometimes they were en-



tirely furrounded with ice, and at other times the wind blew so excessive hard, that they did not expect to live more than an hour upon the surface; while the nights were so extremely dark, there was no seeing what was to be done; nor was it much better in the day time, the fogs were so very heavy.

The nights were long and so extremely cold, that it was almost impossible to handle the sails and rigging without suffering severely; the sudden violent gusts of wind that now and then sprung up, one of which lasted three days, threatened unavoidable destruction: winter was again coming on fast, and the sea seemed so firmly covered with ice, that no course appeared more unattainable, than that of making Hudson's Straits; besides, there was a necessity for better weather, even to attempt it if the sea was clear, which was not now to be hoped for. The ship was besides so leaky, that they were forced to ply the pump every hour, a task extremely fatiguing; and she was moreover so very much bruised with dashing against the rocks and ice, that she was certainly not to be trusted much longer.

All these reasons conspired to induce the officers of the ship to request in form of the captain to steer a homeward course, now that it seemed to them impossible to make any advantage by continuing longer in these seas; this they did in a writing, on the 26th of August, to which they all signed their names; and in consequence of this sollicitation, he ordered the pilot to put about the helm, and go upon another course.

The 27th, the wind came about at north-west with snow and very cold weather, during which many huge concretions of ice, some reaching above the top-mast head, swept by them: the 31st of this month they were in the narrowest part of the Strait,

Strait, and saw the land covered with ice, and much more to the leeward.

The beginning of September, they cleared the Straits, and met with various winds, and such bitter cold, that it was with difficulty the men could take in the top and sprit sails in an evening. On the 8th, they had a tumbling sea, the wind coming in squalls, and the ship rowling so very much, they were afraid she would have brought her masts by the board; besides, her seams gaped so much that all hands lay wet, and her leaks required a constant attention to the pump; however, after this day they saw no more ice, the wind was in their favour, and the ship made indifferently good way; coming to anchor without having met with any thing else very remarkable, in the Bristol road on the 22d of October. When they examined her defects, on her being brought into harbour and haled ashore, it was wonderful to think how she had ever made her desired port; for besides other signal damages, she had lost fourteen feet of her keel, her stern, and great part of her sheathing; her timbers were cracked within the board, and on one place had been pierced by a sharp rock, a fair inch and half above the sheathing.

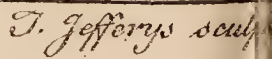
It was the opinion of captain James when he returned from this expedition, that there was no north-west passage at all; and his reasons for it are these: there is a constant tide sets into Hudson's Straits, the flood coming from the eastward; the sea produces scarcely any fish, nor the smallest signs of it; it is covered over with ice, which, in his opinion, is generated by shoals and bays; and this ice would have certainly been broken and disjunct, if there was the free ocean beyond it, for he found this the case in passing thro' the Straits into the sea to the eastward; and lastly he had observed, that the ice drives out always to the east-

ward at Hudson's Bay : nor does he think that it would answer any very profitable end, if such a passage was really found out ; for the multiplicity of dangerous ice and shoals in those latitudes, make it unfit for a vessel to try them with any valuable cargo. Besides, he says, to the southward, a thousand leagues may be sooner made, than an hundred here, and with less hazard ; and to the south, and about the Cape of Good Hope, there are fine opportunities of recruiting the sick ; whereas here, there is not the slightest refreshment to be had, and scarcely any thing but pain and disorder to be acquired. Nay even, says he, if these Straits were to be freed from ice, yet would it prove but of little advantage, for the winds, which in August and September are westerly and very boisterous, would cause the vessel to be longer on her voyage, than if she went the common course. He concludes with observing, that from the nature of the climate, these northern parts can afford nothing beneficial in trade : however, he very modestly advances these things only as his own private opinion, and not with any view of discouraging future adventurers from trying what may be done in the same course ; not doubting but the more ingenious may be crowned with greater success than what he met with.





37-35





The VOYAGES and ADVENTURES of Mr.  
JOHN NIEUHOFF, in the East-Indies,  
and several Other Parts of the World.

C H A P. I.

*Mr. Nieuhoff's birth: he embarks in the West-India company's service, and sails from the Texel; meets with and fights two Turkish pirates, and arrives on the coast of Brasil: the island of Fernando appointed for the reception of transported felons: the situation and soil of St. Thomas's isle: the climate very destructive to foreigners: the town of Pavaosa taken by the Dutch: Brasil, its first discovery, and whence named: of its division by the Portuguese: part of it subdued by prince Maurice: Olinda formerly a most magnificent place: Pernambuko, Garazu, and Receif, described: great improvements made here by count Maurice.*

**M**R. John Nieuhoff, born at Usen in the earldom of Benthem, and descended from a reputable family, engaged in the West-India company's service, as supercargo, on the 24th of October 1640, and sailed the same day out of the Texel, in a ship called the Roebuck, of twenty eight guns, and one hundred and thirty men: Nothing remarkable occurred till the 6th of November, when they were attacked by two Turkish pirates, whom, after a very warm engagement, they obliged to sheer off; which success was chiefly owing to the good conduct and determined resolution of Mr. Nieuhoff, who acted as com-



mander of the ship, the master being rendered incapable of his duty by a severe indisposition.

After a voyage of seven weeks and one day, without any other material incident than that already mentioned, and a storm or two which they weathered with no great damage, they made the coast of Brasil, having in their course touched at an island called Fernando, fifty leagues from thence ; which island, about the year 1630, was inhabited by the Dutch, but deserted by them a few years after, on account of rats that swarmed there, and plundered the earth of its produce ; after the Dutch had forsaken this land of vermin, the council of Brasil appointed it the receptacle of malefactors, who on being exiled there, were furnished with instruments necessary to work a subsistence out of the bowels of the earth.

About the latter end of August 1643, Mr. Nieuhoff was ordered on a trading voyage to the island of St. Thomas, for which purpose he was furnished with a ship, and a cargo of fullers earth, to be there exchanged for black ginger and sugar, the principal commodities of the place.

St. Thomas is thirty six leagues in compass, of a circular form, and very fertile in sugar and black ginger : in the midst of this island there are mountains constantly covered with snow, tho' the adjacent valleys, as may be expected under the line, are scorched with excessive heat. The air is rendered unhealthy by vapours, so obnoxious that scarce one foreigner in ten escapes immediate death, and even those whose happy constitutions withstand the first attacks of the climate in epidemical fevers, seldom reach fifty years ; nevertheless, the inhabitants and negroes live to a very advanced age.

Pavaosa, the principal city of this island, is situated on a rivulet ; it contains about eight hundred houses,

houses, and three churches. This place, together with the whole island, was conquered by admiral Tol, after a siege of forty days, October the 16th 1641; shortly after which period, he and several commanders, with a large number of seamen, were swept away by the pestilential air.

After a voyage of three months, Mr. Nieuhoff arrived safe at Brasil, having fulfilled the purpose for which he had embarked.

As an introduction to those remarkable occurrences which happened before Mr. Nieuhoff's arrival in Brasil, and during his residence there for eight years, let us take a cursory view of the country which has furnished matter for these travels.

Brasil, so called by the Portuguese from the wood of that name which abounds there, was originally discovered in the year 1500 by Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, who gave it the name of Santa Cruz: as to its extent, geographers materially disagree; but, according to the most authentic calculation, it measures from the river Para to the river Capibari, situated north and south, three hundred and seventy five leagues; the extent from east to west is more doubtful, but computed at seven hundred and forty two leagues.

The Portuguese have divided Brasil into fourteen districts, which they called Kapitanias or captainships, each of which is watered by some considerable river, with other streams of lesser note; the river named St. Francis, claims precedence of all others in this country in point of size; yet, tho' it is broad and deep, ships of burthen are prevented from entering it by sands which choak up its mouth. In the lake whence this river takes its rise, there is a large quantity of gold dust found, supposed to be washed down by the rivulets which glide through the caverns of



the Peruvian mountains. It is worthy of observation, that the river St. Francis rolls a fuller stream at that season of the year when rains seldom fall, than when the clouds, according to Dryden, shake their fleeces over the earth, which peculiarity is most properly attributed to the vast quantity of snow dissolved by the vigour of the summer sun upon the mountain tops.

Six of the captainships already mentioned, were under the government of the Dutch West India company, before the Portuguese revolted; and were distinguished from the other eight by being stiled the northern Brasil; those belonging to the Portuguese were called the southern.

The Dutch captainships extended along the sea coast from north to south, one hundred and sixty or one hundred and eighty leagues; each of them being divided into several smaller districts, called by the Portuguese *Fregesias*, and by the Dutch *Fregesien*.

The captainship of *Seregippe del Rey*, likewise called *Carigi* from a lake of that name, lies in the southern part of Brasil, upon the river of St. Francis near the sea coast, in extent thirty two leagues, and has in it a *Fregasie* called *Porto Calvo*, in which there is a village named *Villa de Bon Successo de Porto Calvo*, situated upon a rising ground, near four leagues from the sea shore, and fortified with two forts built by the Dutch: the village contains two streets, and is supplied with good air by the sea breezes that fan it.

This captainship was subjected to the Spaniards or Portuguese, by *Christovan Barros*, who was rewarded for his service with a considerable tract of land, and a power to settle colonies on it; many persons repaired thither from the Bay of All Saints, and shortly built a small town, which was on the 24th of December 1637, laid waste by the Dutch,



Dutch, who were provoked thereto by the incursions made on their territories by Benjola the Spanish general: in the year 1641, count Maurice reduced this place to the jurisdiction of the West India company, erected a fort, and encompassed the town Sergippe del Rey with a ditch.

Parnambuko, one of the largest Dutch captainships, which derives its name from the hidden rocks and shelves that lurk in the entrance of the harbour, stretches above sixty leagues along the sea coast, and is subdivided into eleven smaller districts, among which those called Olinda and Garazu are the principal.

At a small distance from the Receif or Maurice town, on the north side lie the remains of that once celebrated city Olinda, from whence formerly the whole trade from Brasil to Europe was carried on.

This city, which stood upon divers hills of easy ascent towards the sea, but steep and craggy towards the land, contained two thousand inhabitants, besides the clergymen and slaves; on the land side it was defended by several bastions, which, from the unevenness of the ground they stood upon, were not strictly uniform; however, their situation gave them additional force. Here stood a convent of elegant structure, founded by Sebastian king of Portugal, who also endowed it with very considerable revenues; there were also two other convents, one for the Capuchins, another for the Dominicans, and two churches, one named St. Salvador, the other St. Peter.

The whole district of Pernambuco is well stocked with various kinds of fruit and cattle; the vallies afford excellent pasturage, and the mountains teem with richer minerals than are to be found in any other of the captainships.

Garazu, properly stiled a village, lies about five leagues from Olinda, upon the shore opposite to the Isle of Tamarika, and upon a river of the same name; it was formerly inhabited by Portuguese mechanics, but being subjected to the Dutch in 1633, several rich families of that people settled there.

The Receif from the latin word recipere, to receive, in point of situation is the strongest place in Brasil, besides that it has the advantage of several contiguous forts; but to give as clear an idea as possible both of this place and Maurice's town, it will be necessary to observe, that the whole coast of Brasil is bordered by a thick and flat ridge of rocks, which in some places is twenty, and in others thirty paces broad; however, there are passages thro' which the ships approach the shore, one of these passages is about a quarter of a mile to the north of Receif. Between the rocky ridge and the shore, there is a small island of a league in length, and two hundred paces in breadth, which the Dutch call the sandy Receif, to distinguish it from the other named the stony Receif. On the southern point of this little island, the Portuguese built a village; hither, after Olinda was forsaken by its inhabitants, many of them, especially merchants, came and settled. On the arrival of the Dutch, no more than two hundred houses were found here; however, the number was soon increased to two thousand, for the defence of which three bulwarks were raised. On the extreme point of the stony Receif, to the left as we enter the harbour, there is a large strong castle well supplied with artillery, which from the complicated strength of art and nature is deemed impregnable.

To the south of the Receif, and opposite to it, lies the isle of Anthony Vaez, a title derived from its



its original possessor, which in circumference measures about half a league on the east side. Count Maurice laid the foundation of a city, which he honoured with his own name; and the decayed churches and monasteries of deserted Olinda furnished materials for building on this more favourite spot: on the west side 'tis environed with a morass, on the east bounded by the sea, and to the north and south secured by bulwarks.

Maurice's town was defended by two forts, called Frederic Henry, and fort Ernestus.

The isle of Anthony Vaes being joined to the continent by a bridge, it was also thought necessary to connect the Receif to the said island by another bridge, to facilitate the carriage of sugar chests, which could not be transported but with extreme hazard, except at low water. The necessity of such a bridge being admitted, the great council and governor count Maurice, at a very considerable expence, effected the work in about two months, and imposed a toll on all passengers to reimburse the public funds.

The river Kapivaribi, so called from a kind of sea hogs often found in it, skirts Maurice's Town; upon a branch of this river, which runs into one called Affogadoes, stand two forts, named Fort William and Fort Baretta. In the middle of the island count Maurice erected for himself a most magnificent palace, that cost him, as is reported, six hundred thousand florins, adjacent to which he laid out elegant gardens, well stocked with curious exotic and native plants, as well as trees from all parts of the world; also with fish-ponds; wherein were all kinds of fresh water fish. Besides this, count Maurice had another seat, chiefly appropriated to the summer season, at the foot of the bridge over the river Kapiviribi, which the Portuguese called Baa-vista, i. e. Fair Prospect. Upon  
the



the sandy Receif stand two other forts, one the Sand, another Bucin Fort; and a third, called Wardenburgh, stands between the continent and Sandy Receif.

In the district of Parnambuko are two woods, called by the Portuguese the Great and Lesser Palmairas or Palm-tree woods. The Lesser Palmaira is inhabited by near six thousand negroes, who dwell in a village composed of three streets, each half a league in length; they live in huts made of straw twisted together, and plunder the Portuguese of their slaves; and such as they steal from the Portuguese must remain in slavery till they purchase liberty by stealing each of them another slave; but such as voluntarily quit the Portuguese are rewarded with immediate freedom, and the common privileges of that people. Dates, beans, meal, barley, sugar canes, tame fowl, (which are very plenty) and fish compose their general sustenance: they have two harvests in a year, after each of which they have a week's rejoicing.

In the greater Palmaira, the main body of inhabitants number eight thousand; besides which, there are several smaller parties of one hundred or fifty each, scattered up and down: their habitations lie stragling; they sow and reap in the woods, and retire to caves, in case of necessity. Among these people it is customary to count their numbers every night; after which muster, if none are wanting, they conclude the evening with dancing and beat of drum: these also send strong parties to steal or force slaves from the Portuguese. During the government of count Maurice, these people were very troublesome, till he sent a body of eleven hundred men to suppress them.

The captainship of Parnambuko contains several other subdivisions, which having nothing worthy

thy of particular observation, for the sake of brevity are here omitted.

## C H A P. II.

*Tamarika described; also the island of Magioppe, and city of Parayba: the Portuguese beaten out of the last mentioned place by the Dutch under prince Maurice.*

**T**O the north of Parnambuko lies the district of Tamarika, so called from an island of that name which composes the chief part of this district, tho' it extends thirty-five leagues along the sea coast upon the continent.

The island of Tamarika lies in the sea, two leagues north of Pornorello; it is eight leagues in length, and near seven in circumference, tolerably fertile, and productive of cocoa-nuts, cotton, sugar, reeds, melons, brasil wood, and large quantities of timber for shipping; it was looked upon by the Dutch as of great consequence, and was proposed as a place of trade to the Receif: which proposition was rejected for several substantial reasons, such as its being less convenient than the Receif in many respects, and having no advantage over it but in regard of fresh water, wherewith this island abounds: nevertheless, in the war with the Portuguese, it proved of signal service; for being vastly strong, it afforded shelter on any pressing emergency, and also contributed greatly to support the Receif with provisions.

There were some pieces of fortification at the mouth of the harbour, such as a quadrangular fort called Orange, and a hornwork; the latter much decayed.

In the island there was a small town near a morass and the entrance of the river. The town which  
was



was mostly inhabited by foldiers, with the whole ifland, was taken from the Portuguefe by general Schoppe, who commanded the Dutch, and called from him Schoppe's-town. Somewhat higher up the river Tamarika lies an ifland called Magioppe, where is found abundance of mandihoka roots.

Between Pomorello and Tamarika rolls a river from the continent called Marafarinha; and half a league within the river Tamarika falls another called Garraffore: befides thefe, there are in the diftrict we now view, three others diftinguifhed by the names of Goyana, Auyay, and Gramane. Three leagues within the river Goyana, ftands a town of the fame name, where the judicial court of this captainfhip is held; to which place it was transferred from the ifland Tamarika.

The captainfhip of Parayba borrows its name from its capital city, or more properly from a river fo called on which the city ftands. This is deemed one of the moft northerly diftricts, lying about five leagues diftant from the fea: it formerly belonged to the French, who were difpoffeffed of it, and many other harbours, by Martin Leyton a Portuguefe general.

Five leagues up the river Parayba ftands the city of that name, which was founded by the Portuguefe, and named after the king of Spain, Filippen, and Naffa Senhora de Vives, or Parayba, which laft and moft general name the Dutch, after their conquest of this captainfhip, in 1633, changed to that of Frederic's-town, in compliment to the prince of Orange. In this place the court of judicature for this diftrict was kept before the rebellion of the Portuguefe.

The captainfhip of Parayba is divided, and watered by two large rivers, the Parayba and Mongopoa, or St. Domingo. Parayba lies under the fixth degree twenty-four minutes, four leagues



to the north of Cabo Blanco, and discharges itself by two branches into the sea. In the winter this river frequently overflows the adjacent country, at such times often destroying men and cattle : in the mouth of this river are three considerable forts, named Catarina, St. Antonio, and Restinoa. Two leagues farther to the north there is a large and commodious bay, where ships of burthen may be safely stationed, which the Portuguese call Porto Licena, and the Dutch the Red Land, from the colour of the soil hereabouts. Half a league farther north is the river Mongopoa, which has the peculiarity of being wider at the source than the mouth, before which latter there are two sand banks ; and at Receif, two leagues more north, there is another bay called by the Portuguese Bahaia de Treycano, or Treason : several more there are, which being immaterial we shall not particularise.

There are seven villages in Parayba ; the principal of which is called Pinda Una, wherein were, in the year 1634, fifteen hundred inhabitants, no other village containing above three hundred ; the buildings are very long, with many small doors.

The principal commodities of Parayba are sugar, brasil wood, tobacco, hides, cotton, &c. Near the river side a low plain country presents itself to view ; however, the sight is relieved by gradual and agreeable risings, which appear at a moderate distance, and serve to vary the prospect.

About the latter end of November, 1634, the Dutch projected the conquest of Parayba ; and colonel Schoppe being furnished with thirty-two ships and two thousand three hundred fifty-four men, the expedition was undertaken. Colonel Schoppe landing with six hundred men, put the Portuguese to flight, and was very near making their leader Anthony Albuquerque prisoner : having raised a battery, and being joined by the remainder

mainder of his small army, he obliged Simon Albuquerque to surrender the fort of St. Margaret: fort Antonio was soon after given up; upon which the Dutch immediately marched for Parayba, and made themselves masters of it without any opposition, the Spanish commander Banjola retreating with two hundred and fifty men, his whole force, after he had nailed up the cannon, and set fire to the ships and warehouses. Upon this conquest of Parayba, count Maurice ordered the several forts to be put in a more defensible condition.

The captainship of Porcigi, called by the Portuguese Rio Grande from a river of that name, and by the Dutch North Brasil, borders to the south upon Parayba, and to the north upon Siara.

In the year 1597 the French were masters of this captainship, but were dispossessed by Feliciano Creca de Tharvalasho; it is marked out into four divisions, called after four rivers which run thro' them, viz. Kunhao, Goyano, Mumpobu, and Potegy.

The river Rio Grande, called by the Brasilians Potegy, lies at the mouth in five degrees and forty-two minutes southern latitude; it empties itself four leagues above the fort Theulen, and is navigable to ships of considerable burthen: there are several bays, and some other rivers of less note in this captainship.

Fort Theulen and the whole captainship was conquered by the Dutch in the year 1633, under the command of Matthias van Theulen, assisted by several approved captains; among whom were Lichthart Byrna and others.



## C H A P. III.

*Of the captainships of Potigi and Siara: people with very long ears: the commodities in which they deal: this country in the hands of the Portuguese, who are dispossessed by the Dutch, at the desire and invitation of the natives, who prove treacherous to their deliverers: a new settlement made at Rio Grande with indifferent success: a short character of Brasil considered in a commercial light: fevers common here; their cause: setting of the tides: of the ecclesiastical government and different religions of Brasil: disputes between the Dutch and Portuguese: outrages committed by Paulo de Runha: a peace between the Dutch and Portuguese at Brasil for ten years agreed upon.*

THE captainship of Potigi, Potingi, or Poteingi, was subject to frequent incursions of the Tapoyers or mountaineers, who were at constant enmity with the Portuguese. In July 1645, these Tapoyers, having notice that the Portuguese intended to revolt from the Dutch, marched against them, under one Jacob Rabbi, and did considerable mischief.

Siara is one of the most northerly captainships, situated upon a river of the same name, and bordering to the north upon Maranhon: the extent of this district is not above ten or twelve leagues: the river Siara empties itself about seven leagues and a half to the north of the bay Mangorypa, under three degrees and forty minutes southern latitude.

The inhabitants of this captainship are of large stature; their features are disagreeable, and their ears so large, that they hang down on their shoulders.



ders. The produce of the country is sugar, reeds, crystal, cotton, &c.

In the year 1630, part of this country was governed by one of their native kings, called Algodoi, who was in some sort tributary to the Portuguese, they having built a fort on the river Siara, and possessed themselves of all the sea-coasts thereabout ; nevertheless they were perplexed with intestine broils until the year 1638.

Count Maurice and his council being solicited by the inhabitants to deliver them from the oppression of the Portuguese, and having received two youths of their best families as hostages for their faith and assistance, sent a body of troops under the command of colonel John Garstman, a resolute and experienced leader, to accomplish the design.

The colonel being furnished with men, arms, ammunition, and all other necessaries for such an expedition, set sail for the river Siara, where he was met by Algodoi, and joined by two hundred of the inhabitants ; with these he proceeded immediately against the fort already mentioned, which, after a brave resistance from the Portuguese, he took by storm, making most of the garrison prisoners, among whom were some persons of note.

After this success, the Dutch built a small fort upon the river, and called it Siara, not so much for defence of the country, as for cultivating an intimacy with the natives ; for which end the great council ordered the commanding officers to treat them with all possible respect and friendship ; and to this civil treatment were added several small presents, which nevertheless proved ineffectual ; for in the year 1644 they killed several of the Dutch, at a place called Komesy, thirty leagues from Siara.

In the year 1641, Siara being too populous, and the district of Rio Grande almost void of inhabitants, Andrew Uliis proposed to the great council

cil, building a village in Rio Grande, for such of the Siarians as chose to settle there, which proposition was accepted of by count Maurice and the great council, who gave Uliifs leave to draw as many from Siara as he could; at the same time making him chief captain of the new settlement: this scheme being thus executed, they chose certain chiefs out of the most antient families of each division, called by the Portuguese Residoor; notwithstanding which the Brasilians of Siara in the year 1644 revolted against the Dutch, as has been already observed, and massacred the garrison of the fort, with the commander in chief Gideon Moretz, and a great number of workmen belonging to the salt pits, near the river Upahamma: they also murdered the master of a ship, a lieutenant, and some soldiers, who, ignorant of their treacherous revolt, went on shore, and falling into their hands, became a prey to their matchless barbarity.

Some have imputed this revolt to the Portuguese, and the Brasilians of Maranhaon; but the true source of the evil, was the extortion and oppression of the Dutch officers, who by ill usage roused a vindictive rage that quenched itself in blood.

Having first pointed out the happy situation, with the many other advantages of Dutch Brasil, and described the ecclesiastical state thereof, we shall proceed to recapitulate the remarkable occurrences which filled up the space of time that Mr. Nieuhoff resided there.

Brasil is remarkably fertile in every natural production that can flourish in such a climate, and claims the precedence of all other places in the West-Indies, for conveniency of harbours to transport sugars, the whole coast being full of small rivers, which conduce greatly to the carriage of sugars at a light expence: to this we may add the convenience of sending thence that commodity to Europe



rope and Africa, with more ease than from any other part of the West-Indies; and that Brasil is happily situated for East-India ships to call at, and take in fresh provisions; in short, its great extent and vast commercial advantages, were it sufficiently peopled, must soon render it a flourishing empire, great in itself, and terrible to neighbouring nations.

Being situated between the equinoctial line and the tropic of Capricorn, this country is subject to violent heat, which however is so well tempered by easterly winds off the sea, that the climate is deemed very wholesome; putrid fevers sometimes prevail, and are attributed to the complicated heat and moisture of air, also to the excessive use of raw fruit.

There is a peculiarity in the winds and tides on the coast of Brasil, which those who are bound thither ought carefully to observe: from February to August the stream runs northerly, during which time there is no possibility of sailing from north to south: from the beginning of September to the end of November the stream reverses its course; consequently there is no sailing from south to north: the wind always blows with the stream.

The ecclesiastical state of Dutch Brasil was chiefly composed of protestantism; however, the French that were there had liberty of conscience to exercise their own religion; the English likewise had a minister of their own: the Dutch were regulated by the prescriptions of the Dort synod. Great care was taken to catechise youth; the sacrament was administered four times a-year; as a preparation for which, those who intended to be partakers were obliged to make a confession before the church-council, or the ministers, who booked their names; if strangers, their names were publicly read to the congregation. The church-council was composed of



six church-wardens and the minister, these settled the general run of ecclesiastical matters; but in any affair of particular consequence, the deacons, six in number, were called in as assistant counsellors: to the care of those deacons, two of whom were chosen monthly, the sick and orphans were given, the latter being by them taught to read and write; and all other ordinations were exactly fulfilled, and the church-discipline in every respect strictly adhered to.

In the year 1640, Mr. Henry Hamel, one of the West-India directors for the chamber of Amsterdam, and Mr. Dirck Kodde Vander Burgh were, by desire of the council of nineteen, deputed to succeed Matthias Van Keulen, and John Gijseling as directors of Dutch Brasil, then under the government of John Maurice count Nassau.

At the time these two directors or counsellors arrived here, Dutch Brasil included the captainships of Pernambuko, Hamarika, to which Goyana was annexed, Parayba, Rio Grande and Siara being the northern part of Brasil; the Portuguese having possession of the following districts which compose the southern, Bahia Heos, Porto Securo, Spirito Santo, Rio Janeiro, and St. Vincent. The island of Maranhon was some time after in possession of the Dutch; but in a few years they were obliged to abandon it, by a combination of the natives and Portuguese.

Before the arrival of Messrs. Hamel and Vander Burgh, a fleet was sent to invade Bahia, which expedition being attended with success, so far as the design of depredation, the same squadron, under the command of admiral Jol and Cornelius Lichthart, was dispatched to intercept the Spanish plate fleet, but returned without success in December 1640, having lost four or five ships. About the same time, colonel Koin was ordered with a body  
of

of land forces to attack the captainship of Rio Real, but being very ill supplied with necessaries, and much harrassed with fatigue, this expedition was also fruitless; and major Van Brande, who was sent out with a party to provide some cattle, was yet more unfortunate, his party being entirely defeated, and himself made prisoner.

While the Dutch squadron already mentioned was on the watch for the Spanish plate fleet, the directors of Dutch Brasil, conscious of their weakness at sea, were very justly apprehensive of their vindictive neighbours the Portuguese, who might seize this favourable opportunity for destroying their sugar-mills; wherefore they took all precautionary methods to avert the impending mischief; and being sensible that the good-will of those Portuguese who lived in Dutch Brasil, must be very essential to the wished for security, they thought it adviseable to call an assembly of the principal Portuguese inhabitants, belonging to the three captainships, Pernambuko, Hamarika, and Parayba, that they might concert proper measures for the security of their possessions.

The means proposed by this assembly were to put their forts in good order, and augment their garrisons; as also, to place a number of men in the fields adjacent to the sugar-mills: these steps however failed of the intended advantage; for several incursions were made by the Portuguese, to the prejudice of the Dutch, particularly one by a party of soldiers, which the marquis Montelvano the viceroy sent to burn the sugar-reeds. In short, the charge of maintaining thirty or forty soldiers, for the defence of each sugar-mill, and the damage sustained by frequent depredation greatly impaired the revenues of the Dutch company, nor were they able to bring a body of men into the field, so many being scattered about in the manner



manner we have already mentioned: such was the sickly state of Dutch Brasil towards the end of the year 1640.

On the 22d of December, in this same year, arrived Mr. Adrian Van Bullaestretè as director of Brasil, who completing the great council, it was resolved to send the Dutch fleet to Bahia by way of reprisal on the Portuguese, and to facilitate a negotiation for a peace then on the carpet. The council of nineteen also gave orders that some large ships should cruise off Rio Janeiro to intercept the Spanish flota, which generally sets out from thence for Spain in May or June: during the time of this negotiation, a certain Portuguese, named Paulo de Kunha, committed the most unpardonable outrages in murder and all sorts of devastations, which occasioned count Maurice to write a letter of complaint to the viceroy, in which he also complained of delays in the negotiation, that seemed calculated rather to amuse the Dutch than adjust the differences then subsisting between them and the Portuguese; wherefore he insisted on a categorical answer. Shortly after this remonstrance, by the remarkable assiduity of Vander Burgh, who had the management of the treaty, it was happily completed in February, 1641; and in consequence thereof, all acts of hostility immediately ceased. The treaty was published by proclamation in each captainship, and all the Portuguese ordered to quit the Dutch territories. On the conclusion of this truce, which was for ten years, the Dutch, by a friendly intercourse with the Portuguese, plainly proved that they were resolved to keep their faith inviolable.



## C H A P. IV.

*Trade begins to flourish at Brasil under the protection of the Dutch : the influence of peace, but soon declines on failure of the company's magazines : great variations in credit : planters of the country damaged by an epidemical distemper among the negroes, and other misfortunes not to be avoided : increased by malecontents ; and great disorders ensue in the company's affairs : a conspiracy carried on by the Portuguese against the government of Brasil : the occasion and grounds of it : an embassy arrives from Angola ; sent to count Maurice, and the Dutch East-India company.*

THE great council very wisely judging that peace is the nourishment of trade, resolved to employ this happy interval in the cultivation of it, thereby to promote the public good, and that of the company in particular. For this great and desirable end they gave all possible encouragement to husbandry, which had so good an effect, that the sugar-mills were speedily rebuilt, and the labourers wrought with such assiduous emulation at the crops, that large sums were borrowed on the glorious prospect of gain which industry gave to view.

The next care was to establish wholesome laws as the source of national health ; without which, a body politic, like a natural body filled with corrupted blood, must inevitably fall speedily to decay. In these laws particular attention was paid to the promotion of commerce, and the enlargement of the public revenues.

In consequence of these proceedings, trade began to flourish, commodities were sold in greater quantities

quantities some time after the truce than ever was known before; large sums were dealt for in a small space of time, and credit so remarkably good, that merchants and factors frequently chose to sell their goods to such as paid only part of the stipulated price, preferably to those who would pay the whole.

In the years 1640 and 1641, the revenues of the company were upon so respectable a footing, that they bought up large quantities of sugar on the public account, which they sent to Holland; several handsome structures began to rise; the inhabitants lived in great plenty and magnificence; all debts were looked upon as secure, and every thing seemed to indicate a flourishing state.

This pleasing prospect began to be clouded over in the year 1643, and things wore a quite different appearance; for some expeditions against Angola having exhausted the magazines of the company, and no supplies arriving from Holland as was usual, the great council was obliged to pay their officers and garrisons with what was due to the company, as also to force their debtors to prompt payment.

Besides the misfortune of exhausting their magazines as already mentioned, the merchants in Holland began to call on their factors for large returns of money, which occasioned those factors to press their debtors for the sums due, that they might satisfy the demands of their masters in Holland; a circumstance which occasioned a great scarcity of ready money, and consequently damaged trade considerably. This scarcity in a short time grew so general, that many proprietors of sugar-mills were, for want of ready money to pay their debts, obliged to borrow at the rate of three and four per cent. a month, which reduced many of them to such extremity, that in a short time they could neither pay principal nor interest.



What seemed to give the first rise to such confusion in trade and public credit, was the practice of the Portuguese, who buying up large quantities of goods, in hopes that a revolution would pay all their debts, contracted such enormous ones, that the Dutch factors, who indiscreetly gave large credit, sustained vast losses, till their employers in Holland began to be very importunate, which occasioned them to press hard those country traders, thro' whose hands the Portuguese had received the goods. But as the Portuguese had nothing to pay, the country merchants fell to ruin, the factors sought their money in vain, and the merchants in Holland received a very severe shock in trade: these circumstances, terrible to the public in general, were nevertheless happy for the lawyers, as the whole country was a scene of litigation; several were cast into prison, but being maintained at the expence of their creditors, the creditors themselves solicited their freedom, and made the best composition they could.

To the inconveniencies already recited, we may add another material one, the mortality of the negroes and Brasilians, by an epidemical distemper incident to the natives, called bexigos, which is somewhat similar to our European small-pox. As the negroes in general were purchased at the rate of three hundred pieces of eight, upon an average, the loss of them consequently occasioned the ruin of the planters, who were at the same time severely prejudiced by vermin and inundations, which considerably damaged the sugar-fields. Such a concurrence of misfortunes in trade occasioned intestine broils among the inhabitants; the most clandestine methods were made use of to evade and recover debts. These divisions, fatal in themselves, were still rendered worse by the fomentation of some malecontents, animals that always fish in the troubled stream of perplexity for advantage,  
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and prey upon the vitals of a community to satisfy their malice or avarice: such cankers are in all governments; and here they discovered themselves, by taking pains to persuade those who had lost their debts, that the regency and courts of justice were culpable; suggesting yet farther, that the public funds should repair private losses.

Upon this occasion, the debts of the company increased every day: for the directors, who before the year 1640 had the management of affairs in Brasil, sold most of the confiscated estates, sugar-mills, merchandizes, and negroes belonging to the company upon credit; so that they stood possessed of extensive debts, but no cash: the succeeding members of the council, Messrs. Hamel, Bullaestre, and Van Burgh took all imaginable pains to correct this erroneous management, and sold their commodities for ready money, or exchanged them for sugars, so to ease the company in point of their expensive expeditions; in consequence of which the years 1640, 41, and 42 furnished Holland with much larger quantities than ever were known before. Notwithstanding which remittances, the vast number of negroes furnished after the conquest of Angola, ran the company still farther in debt, as their debtors made very dilatory payments; upon which the council of nineteen gave express orders that the negroes should be sold only for ready money, or exchanged for sugar, which determination they were obliged to alter, as they found it pregnant with the entire ruin of the negro trade; for the inhabitants were obliged to deal upon credit for their slaves, till they could reap the advantage of their labour.

The members of the council, to be as secure as possible, resolved to call upon their debtors exactly at the time of the sugar-harvest, and, upon de-



fault of payment, ordered proper officers to force by seizure.

This method of proceeding occasioned such a multitude of law suits, and such general perplexity, that the great council very justly feared an insurrection; upon which they turned their thoughts towards a palliation of matters, and at last a proposition for adjusting debts was made, viz. that the company should undertake to settle the debts of private persons, to which end the proprietors of sugar-mills were to surrender the whole yearly product of their mills to the company, till they had paid off their several debts; and that the benefit of these proceedings might extend to the company and their sugar-mills, as well as to the merchants and factors, it was resolved that certain articles should be agreed upon for that purpose, the company proposing no other advantage to themselves from this scheme, than that of having an opportunity of recovering some debts which were supposed to be lost.

The company being vested with the power consequent to this accommodation, gave public notice of their agreements with particular persons, in order that such persons should not receive any thing upon credit, without the approbation of the great council, and their creditors were summoned to prove their debts in three weeks time, on pain of being excluded the benefit of the contract.

As the the most prudent measures will, by some wrong-headed or evil-minded persons be cavilled at, so this sole method of healing the wounds of public credit was by some people condemned, and pointed out as a cause of the Portuguese revolt: nevertheless, so good an effect had these proceedings, that industry began again to raise its head, and promise a flourishing state, free from the encumbrance of debts; and the year 1645 promised so plentiful  
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a harvest of sugar, as had not been seen for many years before.

The Portuguese, partly from a natural hatred they had to the Dutch, such a one as the conquered always entertain against their conquerors, and partly with a view of clearing away the immense debts they had contracted, which debts, in some measure made them desperate, resolved not to rest till they had undermined the government; for which purpose they determined upon a revolt, and were so confident as to declare, that if they did not receive the sought for assistance from Bahia, they would solicit succours from Spain or Turkey.

About the end of the year 1642, they were disarmed on the rumour of an intended revolt; nevertheless their arms were restored some time after, and they remained tolerably quiet, from fear, as is supposed, of the Dutch garrison.

The true origin of their revolt may be traced out in the following manner.

On the 13th of December, 1642; one John Fernandes Vieira appeared in the council-room, where he said, a certain Jew informed him, that he and his father-in-law Berengel, were charged with having dispatched letters of an evil tendency to the state, by Berengel's son, to the king of Portugal. Upon this occasion he confessed having sent a letter by the person mentioned, to the king, but asserted that the letter contained no more than a commendation of the bearer to some employment at the court of Lisbon; and this assertion he justified by the copy of the letter, which being examined, was found to contain no more than he mentioned. Vieira then proposed disarming the Portuguese, particularly the captains de Campo, with all under their jurisdiction, the Brasilians, negroes, Mulattoes, and Mamalukes.



Count Maurice produced a letter from the council of nineteen, informing him, that John Van North, who had served fourteen months in Brasil as a cadet, declared to them at Amsterdam, that he had been servant in a sugar-mill belonging to Fernandes Vieira; that after passing two months in that capacity, he was solicited by Francisco Berengel Labrador, to accompany his son Antonio Dandrado Berengel, as his interpreter to Holland, and thence to Portugal; that being allured by large promises, he attended young Berengel, who, after three weeks intimacy, told him he had a letter signed by Vieira, Francisco Berengel, Bernardine Karvalho, John Biferro, and Lewis Bras Biferro, in which they signified to the king of Portugal, that they were provided with sufficient means to reduce Brasil under his obedience: the council added, that on account of this embassy, the king of Portugal had made young Berengel a captain; wherefore they ordered a strict watch to be kept over the persons mentioned.

The great council having met on the 16th of February, 1643, count Maurice informed them, he had assurances that some of the principal Portuguese intended to surprise and cut off the Dutch garrisons in the country of Moribeka and St. Anthony, as well as in some other places; and that this design was to be put in execution upon one of their saints days, the better to screen their intention, it being usual with them to assemble in great numbers upon such festivals: the chief managers of this affair lived in the Vargea, and they proposed surprising the Recife; likewise concluding that the garrisons in the country must quickly yield to the possessors of that, and consequently that the company being stripped both of trade and soldiers, could not longer subsist in Brasil.

This situation of affairs having undergone ma-  
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ture deliberation, a resolution was taken to avoid alarming the country; by a public apprehension of suspected persons; therefore precautionary steps only were taken, such as putting strong places into a better state of defence, and keeping a continual watch on supposed secret enemies. Several letters, some anonymous, were sent to count Maurice, confirming the traiterous intentions of the Portuguese, particularly one from Mr. Van Els, dated at Serinhaim, importing, he was credibly informed that a certain Mulatto, of the company of Augustine Hardoso, being asked by some of the people of Fregasie, what business they had thereabouts, replied, they had been to give letters to certain persons living near the Receif; adding, that they would speedily see that place taken without any effusion of either Dutch or Portuguese blood.

In December, 1643, Don Michael de Kraso, Don Sebastian Manduba de Sonho, and Don Antonio Ferdinandes, three ambassadors from count Sonho in Angola, arrived in the Receif, with whom came several negroes as presents to count Maurice and the company: by whom being admitted to an audience, they signified that their embassy was to request that the government of Brasil would not send any succours to the king of Congo, who, they believed, intended to attack them: in answer to which, they were told, that the council would write to Mr. Nieu-land their director there, to endeavour at removing all cause of contest between the king of Congo and their master. The council also wrote a letter to the king and count Sonho, recommending peace to them.

The ambassadors were extremely well treated during their stay, and shewed themselves great proficient in Latin and back-sword playing; in which latter exercise they displayed many postures remarkably terrible, and distorted their faces yet more horribly.



On the departure of the ambassadors, they were furnished with some considerable presents for the king of Congo, and others of equal value for the count Sonho.

## C H A P. V.

*Some designs carried on by the Portuguese underhand against Dutch Brasil: the council vested in the government, which count Maurice for that purpose resigns: he sets sail for Holland: an embassy sent from Brasil to the Bahia islands: the state of the Portuguese in the Bahia islands: the Dutch Brasil in danger from new machinations: a very material letter of advice and intelligence brought to the great council: measures taken to prevent a revolt and preserve the peace.*

**O**CTOBER the 13th, 1644, fresh suspicion of a revolt was raised by Gaspar Francisco de Kunha a Jew, and two others of the same tribe, who signified to the great council, that they had been informed by some Jews who kept a correspondence in the country, that the Portuguese were plotting against Dutch Brasil. The council having returned these elders thanks for their friendly information, proceeded to discover the schemes of the Portuguese; and having received well-grounded intelligence, that they expected some arms and ammunition by sea, the yacht called Nieuhouse, with a galliot and a shallop, was ordered to cruise along the coast of Dutch Brasil, and observe what vessels approached the shore.

On the 22d of April, the commission from the governors of the West India company was read in the great council, by virtue of which the members of the council were to have the administration of the

the government till farther instructions : in order to invest them publicly with this authority, count Maurice appointed a general assembly of all the principal persons, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, also the chiefs of the Jews, who all met on the 6th of May accordingly, when count Maurice resigned the government which he had held for eight years, paid them some compliments on their adherence to the high and mighty states, as also their kind treatment of him as their governor ; adding, that he had drawn up a memorial which might be of some service in governing : for all which the members of the council returned him most unfeigned thanks. Before the council broke up, it was debated who should be president of it ; at last it was determined every thing should remain as was usual, under the government of count Maurice, viz. every person to keep his proper rank, first Mr. Hamel, next Mr. Bullaestrete, then Mr. Vander Burgh, &c. Things being thus regulated, count Maurice left the Recife on the 11th of May, 1644, being attended by vast numbers of people, to whom he gave the greatest demonstrations of affection. On the 22d he set sail for Holland, with a fleet of thirteen ships and a large body of foldiers, leaving only eighteen companies for the protection of Dutch Brasil.

On the departure of count Maurice, the grand council proceeded to inspect more narrowly the designs of the Portuguese against the government ; to which effect, it was resolved in January, 1644, to send Gilbert de Wit counsellor of the court of justice, and captain Dirk Hoogstrate, then commander in chief of the Cape of St. Austin to Antonio Telles de Sylva, governor of Bahia, with instructions to the following purpose : first, having delivered their credentials, to compliment the governor in the name of the great council, with a solemn promise of the most inviolable friendship, then to



acquaint him that many subjects of Dutch Brasil, after having contracted considerable debts, both with the company and other inhabitants, did retire into the Bahia, and to desire that for the support of public justice, he would either detain those bankrupts in prison, or give timely notice of their arrival, to the Dutch government, that the injured subjects might have an opportunity of prosecuting them accordingly. With this specious pretence were the aforementioned persons sent in embassy; but the real design of their journey was to find out the Portuguese force by land and sea, to discover the state of their negro trade, whether they had any commerce with the people of Buenos Ayres, and chiefly to learn who cherished the design of the Portuguese against the Dutch; likewise to desire that the governor would not suffer such of the Dutch soldiers as deserted from the Receif to be transported to Portugal, but order them back to the Receif.

On the 8th of February these envoys arrived safely in the Bahia, having cast anchor near the city of St. Salvador, where they were met by two officers deputed by the governor to receive them, major Domingo Delgados, and captain David Ventura; by these two officers they were conducted in considerable state to the governor, whom they found in a large assembly of the principal officers. On being admitted to an audience, the envoys, in a long and elaborate harangue, set forth the strict regard of their masters for the Portuguese, and the desire they had to support an inviolable friendship. After which they mentioned having matters of a more particular and private nature to communicate. A second audience was appointed for this purpose; and the governor having heard their proposals, gave a general answer, importing, that he would consult his council, and next day furnish them with

with the result of his deliberations. Accordingly he saw them next day, and in very complaisant terms let them know he had consulted his council; and that a letter he then delivered to them for their masters was all the answer he could possibly give: upon which the envoys observed, that since vagrants must find shelter in the Bahia, they hoped the governor would signify their names to the Dutch government, that it might be known whither they are fled; which request being granted by the governor, they took their leave having been entertained with great friendship and magnificence.

The envoys arriving safely at the Receif, delivered governor Sylva's letter to the great council, which contained little more than general terms of respect for the states of Holland, and those their subjects in particular, whom he then addressed concerning the several points of secret instructions already mentioned. The envoys gave a very minute account, importing upon the whole as follows.

That the Portuguese troops, according to the best information they could obtain, amounted to, negroes and Brasilians included, three thousand, which were scattered in various garrisons, St. Salvador being the principal; that the naval strength was very inconsiderable, consisting of fifty small vessels and yachts not in the least calculated for war; that during their stay at St. Salvador, two Portuguese ships of war arrived in Bahia, on pretence of protecting their trade from the privateers of Denmark and Castile; that these two ships had brought orders from his Portuguese majesty, to forbid the building of small craft, and to enjoin his subjects to fit out ships in some sort able to resist the insults of the enemy, from which the envoys seemed to infer advantage to the Dutch, as this alteration must render the carriage of Portuguese sugars dearer.



In regard to the negro trade it was found to be very trifling; however, they supposed by the price being three hundred gilders each, that negroes were not scarce: they farther reported, that on the 8th of February they saw in the Bahia two ships of twenty guns each, whose destination they could not discover with any degree of certainty; for which reason they suspected, and justly, some sinister design: however, before their departure they learned concerning these ships, that they were designed for Angola to defend Masagoa and its inhabitants against the negroes. The truth of this account they referred to all-explaining time, but presumed that there was somewhat more intended by this expedition, as the greatest care was taken to secrete it from the envoys, all the Dutch and Germans being prevented from having any conference with them during their stay at St. Salvador.

As to Buenos Ayres they reported there was no commerce between it and any of the Portuguese captainships; and in respect of those persons who concerted and promoted designs against the Dutch Brasil, they could not gain the slightest information, the envoys having thus, as far as they were able, fulfilled each article of their private instructions; to which general account they added a description of St. Salvador, its inhabitants governor, fortifications, &c.

The flying report of a revolt which was raised and quickly vanished in the year 1640, was revived upon more substantial grounds in 1645; for it was discovered and proved almost to a certainty, that depending upon the succours from Bahia, and considering the weak condition of the Dutch, (the greatest part of their fleet and land forces having gone with count Maurice to Holland) the malecontents intended to take up arms. This design the great council being thoroughly acquainted with,

with, they took all imaginable care to prevent it from taking place, and sent spies to all quarters with strict orders to sound the inclinations of the people, and discover, if possible, the ringleaders of sedition. These precautions, however, proved successful, for no material discovery could be made; but as we have already hinted, the Dutch council were convinced, that an insurrection was seriously meditated; for, besides that the Portuguese were discontented as a conquered people, their difference of religion from the Dutch, gave a still keener edge to their animosity, and in a great measure justified the suspicion of them; they therefore wrote a very long and explicit letter to the council of nineteen in Holland, giving an exact account of the state of things, a detail of the informations they had received concerning a revolt, the steps they had taken to prevent it, concluding with an assurance, that nothing should be wanting on their side to check the insolent or treacherous designs of public or private foes.

The great council were alarmed with a letter and various reports concerning the march of a body of Portuguese against their captainship of Sergippe del Rey; but these reports appeared upon examination to be ill grounded: however, on the 30th of May they received a letter subscribed A Verdade, under plus ultra; which letter being translated from Portuguese, was found to import as follows: That an attack was absolutely intended against Dutch Brasil; that Fernandes Vieira was the most formidable malecontent, therefore ought to be seized; however, that as he was very much upon his guard, great precaution was necessary for the apprehending him, as the discovery of such an intention, previous to the execution, must in all probability expedite the impending mischief; that therefore secrecy as well as expedition was absolutely



absolutely requisite : disarming the inhabitants of several Fregasies was strongly recommended by this letter. The writers of which insisted strongly on their veracity and strict attachment to the Dutch government, observing at the same time it was then necessary for them to rest unknown, but that they would discover themselves when danger was less imminent. To all which they added, by way of conclusion, advice to apprehend Francisco Berengel, Vieira's father-in-law, Antonio Kavalkan-ti, and all the chief of the Vergeas. Such was the purport of the letter, wherein, as they themselves remarked, the writers were as explicit as they could have been in personal conference.

On receipt of so material a piece of information, the great council called into their assembly, as assistant members, Paul de Linge, president of the council of justice, Cornelius Lichthart, vice-admiral, and lieutenant-colonel Garstman, to concert the speediest and most effectual measures for the preservation of Dutch Brasil from foreign and domestic enemies. The several letters and other private advices being taken under consideration, it was unanimously agreed, that the situation of things required the following resolutions to be put in practice.

First, To provide all their forts and other garrisoned places with meal for two months, and to issue strict orders to the commanding officers that they should be constantly upon their guard.

Secondly, It was resolved, that John Lestry, commander in chief of the Brasilians, should be ordered to keep his people in readiness to take the field at an hour's warning ; and at the same time the council determined to send spies to all parts where any intelligence could be hoped for.

Thirdly, It was agreed to summon John Fernandes Vieira, with his sureties Francisco Berengel and

and Bernardin Karvalho to the Receif, under colour of a second agreement with him, which he much wished for. This appeared the most plausible method of attacking Vieira, and thro' him to get at the bottom of the Portuguese plot; wherefore one Koin a broker, Vieira's agent in the agreement, was prevailed upon to draw him into the snare. Equal care was taken by the great council for the apprehension of several other dangerous persons.

## C H A P. VI.

*Attempts made to seize some of the principal malecontents, but without success; several of them are attainted: two of the chiefs seized, who make some very material discoveries, and appear to have been in reality friends to the Dutch: they are set at liberty: more prisoners brought in: great preparations are made on every side for an open attack: an amnesty offered to the rebels: a rising at Cape St. Augustine: colonel Haus marches against the rebels, and has good success: a dreadful conspiracy of the Portuguese discovered: Vieira and the rest of the chiefs of the malecontents make remonstrances to the council ineffectual: the examination and confession of Antonio Dolivera.*

According to the resolution taken by the great council, all possible means were used to decoy Vieira into the Receif, but without success; upon which lieutenant Denniger was sent to his house with a party of soldiers to apprehend him by force. This attempt too proved fruitless, he having absconded three weeks before. Denniger also searched the houses of Antonio Kavalkanti and Antonio Biferro without success.

Several fresh advices of the enemy's being in motion were transmitted to the great council, which



which being for the most part ill grounded, served no purpose but that of perplexing the government.

The council being disappointed in their design of taking Vieira, attainted a considerable number of persons in the several provinces; and fearing the inhabitants of Parayba, on account of their large debts, would be foremost in the revolt, Mr. Paul de Linge was immediately sent thither as a director, with discretionary power for the government of Rio Grande as well as Parayba, and strict orders to press a hundred men out of the ships, with provisions in proportion, for the defence of fort St. Margaret, and to keep the inhabitants quiet.

As provisions were very scarce, it was thought necessary to form a small camp near St. Lawrence, as well to secure a supply of necessaries as to awe the malecontents; accordingly four hundred and odd men were ordered to the ground already mentioned, and Moribeka town being reviewed, directions were given to strengthen the fortifications. The same day information being given that Vieira had been seen in his mill, that night a party was immediately dispatched thither, but returned without having found him; and by the account of Vieira's steward, on being examined, it appeared that it was impossible to surprize his vigilance; however, these disappointments were in some measure atoned for by the seizure of Sebastian Kavalho and Antonio de Bulhous, two of the proscribed persons, who being made prisoners, were brought into the Receif, where the former was examined the night of their arrival before Mr. Walbeck assessor of the court of justice; upon which occasion he made a verbal confession to the following effect:

— That he was one of the three who sent the letter mentioned in the preceding chapter to the council; that he had signed an association for the reduc-

reduction of the Dutch Brasil to the dominion of the king of Portugal; but said, that Vieira, who on all hands appeared to be the life blood of the plot, had by threats frightened him thereto; however, that upon signing it he gave immediate notice thereof to Fernando Vale, and a third person in conjunction with whom the before-mentioned letter was written. This and some observations upon the plan of revolt, which perfectly agreed with informations already recited, made up the sum of Karvalho's confession.

The council being now convinced of Vieira's villainous designs, ordered fresh attempts to be made for apprehending him and his factor Manuel de Soufa; accordingly they were sought for, still to no purpose: however, Caspar Periere who was supposed to have drawn the association, being a public notary, was by an order of council seized.

Kavalho, notwithstanding his confession, was detained prisoner till the 4th of August; but having given the council sufficient proof that he was one of the three secret friends who wrote to them, and earnestly soliciting enlargement, he was set at liberty.

The still nearer approach of danger, called for all possible preparation of defence, to which end the inhabitants of the Receif, and those persons who lived on the back of the river, were ordered to surround their habitations with pallisadoes, on pain of forfeiting two hundred gilders; the fortifications of Maurice town were likewise enlarged and strengthened; admiral Lichthart stationed two guardships at convenient places, to prevent any surprize at low water; and to supply the deficiency of provisions among the garrisons, orders were issued to the several military commanders, to take the necessary quantity of farinha or meal from the inhabitants, for which the company would



would be answerable : at the same time Paulo Lingo set out on his expedition for Parayba, at the head of one thousand five hundred men, and Bernardo Karvalho, who had absconded for some time, was, upon solicitation, allowed to come to the Receif and justify himself ; John Pessoa, another suspected person, also requested leave by letter to appear before the council, which with a familiar petition from Father Lawrence Alkunha was granted, as likewise those of several other persons.

On the 16th of June, intelligence was received that Andrew Vidal, with one thousand Portuguese and a body of negroes, had posted himself above St. Anthony, near the sugar-mill called Topekura ; the same day, two proscribed persons, John Karnero de Maris, and Francisco dias del Gado, were brought prisoners to the Receif.

In this confusion of circumstances, the great council, after some deliberation upon the matter, thought it necessary to remove the camp from St. Lawrence to Moribeka, so to secure the river Sangea, consequently to become masters of the country as far as Cape St. Austin, and thereby to stand assured of a safe passage for their provisions ; which step was deemed the more necessary, as former wars had shewn how supplies from the southern country to the Receif might and certainly would be cut off, if the forementioned post was not secured.

In pursuance of this resolution, the troops were ordered to Moribeka, and the aldermen of Maurice town were instructed to buy up all necessary provisions for the use of those troops : a proclamation was also issued, commanding the inhabitants of Serenhaim, Pojuka, St. Antonio, and Moribeka, to repair completely armed both horse and foot to St. Antonio, there to serve under the command of  
colonel

colonel Gaspar Vander Ley, and lieutenant colonel John Heck, for the defence of the open country, such who were not able to maintain themselves being ranked in point of provisions with other soldiers; the colonel and lieutenant colonel offered to furnish the garrisons with one thousand five hundred measures of farinha for ready money.

The great council having great reason to suspect the Brasilians, under their jurisdiction, would be tampered with by Kamaron, resolved to treat with their chief Listry, and endeavour, thro' his means, to persuade those Brasilians to send their wives and children into the island of Tamarika, under pretence of securing them from the danger of hostilities, but in reality to keep them as hostages for the fidelity of their husbands and fathers.

One Antônio d'Olivera having sent advice to the great council, that a considerable number of Portuguese commanded by Kavalkanti's brother, four hundred Brasilians led by Kamaron, three hundred Indeos Rondelas from Sertoa, and fifty negroes headed by Henry Dias, were destined as succours from the Bahia to the rebels, Mr. Sloteniski, an ensign was sent out with a small reconnoitering party, who having staid out eight days, returned to the Receif without having made any considerable discoveries; however, he brought intelligence which, with former discoveries, plainly proved Vieira to be the main spring of rebellion.

On the 17th of June, the great council with the approbation of the council of justice, issued a proclamation, offering a general pardon to all persons concerned in the rebellion, except the ring-leaders, who would, in five days after said proclamation, make their personal appearance in the Receif; in consequence of which, they should, having taken a new oath of allegiance to the Dutch government, be indulged with entire and quiet



quiet possession of their estates and privileges ; but on the contrary, fire and sword in the worst degree of military execution, was denounced against such as rejected the proffered mercy : several copies of the proclamation to this effect, translated into Portuguese, were next morning distributed in various places.

Preparations were now making for a vigorous defence, when the grand council received certain information that the enemy, to the amount of four thousand men and upwards, were in motion and had actually begun hostilities in the district of Pojuka, where they had seized upon two boats with passengers, whom they made prisoners, and afterwards put to the sword, except one sailor, who was fortunate enough to escape their barbarity ; upon this intimation, the inhabitants having chose Tabatinga Amador d' Arravio for their leader, rose in arms, and cut off the communication of the Dutch by land with Cape St. Austin.

June the 20th, a Brazilian arrived at the Receif, who informed the great council, that being dispatched to them with letters from captain John Bloar in Porto Calvo, he was set upon near Kamboa by certain persons of Pojuka, who took from him the packet of letters, and killed a companion ; to this he added, that Kamaron was posted in the district of Porto Calvo, but that captain Bloar possessed the fort.

The receipt of this intelligence, put the council upon meditating fresh expedients for defence, and in consequence of their deliberations, it was resolved that two companies, the whole force then in Allegoas, should be drawn from thence to the Receif. Accordingly a vessel which lay ready for cruising, was ordered to Porto Francisco, there to take on board the forementioned troops, or such part as she could contain ; the remainder to march  
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by land to Rio Francisco, and there join captain Koin; the garrison of Serenheim, esteemed too weak for service there, was ordered to join the forces at St. Antonio, and at the same time forty recruits were sent to reinforce the island of Tamarika.

Mr. Bas, and Mr. Van de Voerde, counsellors of the court of justice, by order of the council, entered upon the examination of Gaspar Periera the public notary for drawing up the instrument of association, and John Kariero de Maris, Francisco Dias del Gado, both masters of sugar-mills in Pojuka, and Sebastian Karvalho, concerning what they knew of the projected conspiracy: upon this examination, being his second, Karvalho made a confession of much the same import as that already set forth.

The same day, the great council received a letter dated St. Antonio, from messieurs Ley and Hoek, informing them that the whole Fregasie had taken up arms, and made sixteen or eighteen Dutch inhabitants prisoners, and that a reinforcement from the Receif was absolutely necessary to prevent very ill consequences; this the council took into consideration, and tho' already weak in numbers at the Receif, yet depending on their fleet lying off Red-land, for keeping Parayba and Rio Grande quiet, they ordered colonel Haus with a hundred men to Moribeka, there to join the forces commanded by captain Wiltshutt, from thence to proceed to St. Antonio, and then directly to Pojuka, to prevent the rebels from cutting off the communication between the Receif and the garrisons in the south.

This expedition was attended with such great success, that the rebels were entirely put to flight, colonel Haus making himself master of the town and convent, in which latter he found forty prisoners



ners loaded with irons, whom he released; but receiving intelligence that Kamaron, with the main body of rebels, came towards him, he was obliged to solicit succours from the Receif, which however necessary, the great council could not send, having already weakened themselves too much.

On the 21st of June, the great council proclaimed a general fast to be held on the 28th of that month, in order to give God thanks for the timely discovery of Portuguese treachery, which had plotted to destroy them when they were least aware of danger, in the following manner.

The malecontents intended on the Whitsun-holidays to make solemn rejoicings, give great feasts and exhibit tournaments, to which the principal men of Dutch Brasil both civil and military were to be invited, whom when flushed with wine, and lulled into unguarded security, with the most specious hospitality, they intended to cut off in like manner as the Sicilian Vespers or Parisian wedding; but being prevented from perpetrating their villainous designs for that time, they fixed on Midsummer day as the next proper period, well knowing from concurring circumstances, the Receif to be then more assailable than at most other times: this dark design being discovered before Midsummer day, it vanished into air, and in consequence of the discovery, each party betook themselves to arms.

The Portuguese did not pretend to justify these proceedings, by putting them on the foot of allegiance to the king, but pleaded liberty of conscience; nevertheless, there was the greatest reason to believe that the insurrection was known and encouraged by the court of Portugal as well as the governor of Bahia, it being very inconsistent with reason or probability that Kamaron and the other ringleaders would presume to attack the Dutch,  
unless

unless encouraged by some superior power; besides Mucheron asserted, that he read in a Portuguese commission the following words, "This revolt and war are undertaken for the honour of God, the propagation of the Roman catholic faith, and for the service of the king and common liberty."—To this he added, that he had heard several Portuguese say, that if they miscarried in their secret design, they would openly attack and drive the Dutch out with fire and sword. It has been by some suggested, that it was very improbable the king of Portugal should draw on himself a Dutch war, when his affairs were in so unsettled a situation as they appeared to be at that time; nevertheless, future events contradicted this opinion very sufficiently.

On the 22d of June a letter was delivered to the great council from the following persons, Fernandes Vieira, Antonio Kavalkanti, John Pascoa, Manuel Kavalkanti, Antonio Biferro and Cosmo de Eraſto Paſos; in which letter they complained heavily of being great sufferers on account of false accusations laid against them by certain Jews, as enemies to the government; that being informed their estates and goods were to be confiscated and bestowed upon certain Hollanders, they humbly prayed that the late offered pardon of five days continuance might be prolonged, as too short a space for the determination of so material a step, and that the pardon might be rendered general, by a removal of all exceptions. To this the petitioners added, that if so equitable a proposal was refused, they thought themselves before God and all catholic princes perfectly innocent of all those ill consequences and miseries which such a refusal might give rise to.

The great council having deliberated upon this very modest letter, warm debates arose; some



were for granting the solicited general pardon, others with more justice and resolution observed, that tho' affairs were not in the most agreeable situation, yet that a letter pregnant with such arrogant and sanctified untruths, ought to be treated with the greatest contempt; it being certainly unworthy of notice. During this debate advices came from colonel Haus at St. Antonio, acquainting the council that he hoped to attack the rebels the next day, with a strong presumption of success; which by what has been already said, we find the colonel was not deceived in. This express determined the debate, which ended in a resolution to lay aside the letter under consideration till they heard again from colonel Haus.

On the 28th of June, Mucheron arrived in the Reccif with two companies from Allegoas, which were on their arrival divided between the Quinqueregular and Ernestus forts. This desirable reinforcement was attended with letters from Paul Linge in Parayba, which gave very particular pleasure, as they contained an account that the Paraybans gave the most solemn assurances of fidelity, and offered to take a fresh oath of allegiance; and that he had great reason to believe them sincere, as the nicest inspection could not discover any appearance of revolt or discontent.

June the 29th, a special commission was issued from the council for Balthasar Vander Voerden to examine Antonio d'Oliveira, concerning the plot formed by the Portuguese against the government: being questioned, he declared that about the beginning of the month current, at the house of Sebastian Karvalho, being in company with Francisco d'Oliveira, Bernardin Karvalho, and Sebastian Karvalho a certain Portuguese, well known to them all, delivered him a letter directed to all persons present, which letter contained another piece of  
paper

paper unsealed, which he began to peruse; but finding the contents run as follows—That the underwritten persons declare themselves faithful subjects of his Portuguese majesty, Vieira, Berengar and many others. whose names he did not read, were the subscribing persons; he gave back the paper without signing it, and observed at the same time to his son Francisco d'Oliveira, that it would be better for him to suffer the cutting off a limb than to sign that paper. He also deposed, that not one person then present signed; that he knew not the hand; but thinking it incumbent on him to discover so villainous an affair, did accordingly, two days after, acquaint Matthew Rey with it, directing him to make it known to the great council.

## C H A P. VII.

*Diego Lopes Lyete examined before the great council: a party of the Dutch are defeated, and the people of Iguerasu revolts: proceedings of the council thereupon: steps taken by colonel Haus: Vieira leaves nothing untried to increase his party: pardon offered to such of the rebels as shall chuse to submit: Ferdinand Vieira, Antonio Kavalkanti, and Amador d'Arouje are outlawed: a second deputation sent to the Bahia islands, which is treated by the governor with great respect: plain proofs appear of the Portuguese treachery: military proceedings in the mean time: some remonstrances of the ringleaders of the rebellion treated with great contempt, and some favour craved for their families denied: the rebels lay siege to Cape St. Antonio, but retire on the approach of colonel Haus.*

**M**ESSIEURS Bullaestre and Dortmont taking one Diego Lopes Leyte under examination, upon the 30th of June, he confessed to



the following purport, viz. That when the design of the Portuguese revolters was first set on foot, the said rebels had by letter solicited succours from De Silva governor of the Bahia, declaring if he refused the requested aid, they would surrender themselves to the Turks, as they preferred any masters to the Dutch; that nevertheless he had heard many dreadful imprecations uttered against the fomenters of these disturbances, Vieira, who by several was looked on as a consummate villain, whose only motive for promoting the projected insurrection, was to clear himself of those exorbitant debts he owed the company.

The same day a small party of Brasilians, who were sent to bring in a considerable quantity of meal from St. Lawrence, were entirely routed, but few escaping with the account of this disagreeable circumstance. The council received an express containing matter yet more irksome, that some inhabitants of Iguarazu had taken up arms against them.

It being judged necessary to draw the fortifications of Maurice-town into a smaller compass, and to strengthen that place by a new line with a breast-work, the same was accordingly executed by the negroes under the inspection of admiral Liehthart.

The fomenters of rebellion in Iguarazu were pointed out to the council by the names of John Lawrence Frances and John Dias Leyte. Advice also came from the magistrates of that country, signifying that Vieira had caused papers of very evil tendency to be posted up in the sugar mills, which however they ordered to be torn down, being resolved, as much as in them lay, to check the progress of rebellion, which they had great reason to believe many of the inhabitants ripe for. At the same time letters came to the council from  
captain

captain Sleuster in the island of Tamarika with intelligence, that certain Brasilians from the villages of St. Michael and Nassau, to the number of eighty men, one hundred and ten women and children were arrived there, and that the Brasilians of Otta intended the like. With these letters came dispatches from the Portuguese magistrates, and principal inhabitants of Goyana, assuring the government of loyal adherence.

Ferdinandes Vale, a person already mentioned as one of the three who wrote a letter to the council, revealing the Portuguese plot, being examined before messieurs Vander Voerde and Bas, made confession of what has been already set forth in the deposition of Sebastian Karvalho, without any considerable variation or addition.

The council being alarmed with a rumour, that the Portuguese of Bahia would send a fleet to the assistance of the rebels, ordered four ships from the Red Land to the Receif, and sent dispatches to lieutenant-colonel Haus, who had taken and caused a ringleader of the rebellion to be hanged, containing orders for his return to the Receif with all the forces that could be spared from Pojuka.

While colonel Haus was labouring to quiet matters in Pojuka, Vieira and Antonio Kavalkanti, who now stiled themselves heads of the war, used not only persuasion, but force, to augment their party, carrying cruelty so far as to put some to the sword who refused to join them. The same lawless proceedings were carried on by Amador d'Arouje in Pojuka; so that by dispensing provisions, dealing out large promises of reward, and intimidation, they formed a considerable body in the Vergea. In order to curb as much as possible this insolent treachery, the great council ordered captain Blaar to march out from the Receif with all imaginable secrecy, at the head of three hun-



dred men, which he was directed to place in ambush near certain passes where the enemy might be intercepted, not questioning but some prisoners must be taken, by which means discovery would probably be made of Vieira's utmost strength, where his main body lay, and what succours were expected from Bahia. Orders were also dispatched to colonel Haus to march with all possible expedition towards the Vergea, there to join captain Blaar, and endeavour to bring the rebels to an engagement, as one successful blow on the government's side must, in all probability, extinguish the flame of rebellion.

It being debated in council, whether the juncture of affairs did not demand a general pardon for all rebels without exception, who submitted to sue for it, the argument was determined in the affirmative; this being esteemed the most plausible method of quieting many of the malecontents.

Letters were received by the great council, July 2d, from captain Blaar, importing that he was prepared and resolved to attack the rebels wherever he met them. Colonel Haus also acquainted the council by express, July the 4th, that having disposed of every thing in Pojuka to the best advantage, he was on his march to Moribeka, where he would remain in expectation of their farther orders.

The inhabitants of Goyana having fortified themselves in the house of the chief magistrate Listry, solicited the great council for a supply of forty musquets to arm those who were unprovided, which request was immediately granted; and orders were sent to Servaes Karpentier to disarm all the Portuguese either by fair or foul means: to which command he replied, that he would use his utmost endeavours to disarm them by gentle methods, as it was not in his power to use compulsion; he be-  
sides

sides observed that every thing had hitherto remained quiet in Goyana, except that some acts of violence had been committed by the Brasilians against the Portuguese inhabitants: he also informed the council, that most of the rebellious Portuguese had left their wives and children behind them; in which case several friends of the government thought it very necessary to oblige their families to follow them, which, as they observed, would incumber the rebels with useless mouths to consume their provision, and considerably impede their marches, also remove a number of persons, who in their present situation served as spies. Which reasons being maturely weighed, the council issued a proclamation, that the wives and children of all those concerned in the rebellion should quit their respective dwellings, and repair to their husbands and fathers within six days, unless the said husbands and fathers within that time surrendered themselves, and sued for mercy from the council.

About the same time, near one thousand Brasilians, three hundred and sixty-nine of the number being men, the rest women and children, had retired to the island of Tamarika, there to shelter themselves from the rebels, and Mr. Dortmont counsellor of the finances was sent thither as absolute director of Iguarassu.

July the 5th, a proclamation was issued, confiscating the estates and effects of Fernandes Vieira, Antonio Kavalkanti, and Amador d'Arouje, as traitors to the state: by this proclamation they were also outlawed, and a reward of one thousand Charles's gilders promised to any person or persons who should apprehend or kill either of the aforesaid rebels, besides exemption from all previous crimes; and if a slave, freedom was to be his



reward, for the meritorious act of cutting off such treacherous disturbers of public tranquillity.

While the great council were thus labouring to crush rebellion, a fresh alarm rose of a fleet coming from the Bahia to assist the rebels; upon which it was determined once more to send an embassy to Antonio Telles da Silva, complaining of so manifest an infringement of the truce concluded between the king of Portugal and the States General.

The persons fixed for this embassy were Balthazar Vander Voerde counsellor of the court of justice, and Dirk van Hoogstrate, then captain in chief to the Cape of St. Austin, having Francis Kirymen Springapple appointed their secretary, with Gerrard Dirk-Laet, Alexander Sylve and Jacob Swearts as attendant gentlemen.

The instructions given by the great council to these ambassadors were to lay open the occasion of the rebellion, and to pry into the real intentions of the governor, by preferring complaints against the succours sent to the rebels by land thro' Rio St. Francisco, and to desire them to recall Kamaron and Henry Dias with their troops from Dutch Brazil, then to punish them according to their deserts; and the aforesaid ambassadors were instructed to declare, in case the governor did not give some proofs of real friendship, that the acts of hostility which had been already committed would certainly be looked upon as a breach of peace; and that the Dutch thought themselves innocent of all the ill consequences which might ensue from taking up arms in their own defence, as they had taken so much pains to compromise matters by reasonable remonstrance.

The ambassadors, upon their arrival in the Bahia, were received on the part of the governor by  
lieutenant-

lieutenant-colonel Andrew Vidal and captain Pedra Kavalkanti, who conducted them to the palace, where they delivered their credentials to the governor, acquainting him, that he would find in them the several points which they were empowered to negotiate. The governor having perused their credentials, replied, that he was ready to hear their propositions; upon which they proceeded as follows.

That many of the States General's Portuguese subjects having taken up arms against the government, had solicited others to join them, under colour of being powerfully assisted from abroad; that Kamaron and Henry Dias at the head of their negroes and Brasilians being on a march in a hostile manner to Pernambuko, several of the principal malecontents Vieira, Kavalkanti, Arouje, &c. immediately quitted their habitations to join with foreign troops, in conjunction with whom they endeavoured at subverting the Dutch government. To which the ambassadors added, that their masters wanted not power to repel such treacherous insolence, but were somewhat at a loss to account for the hostile entrance of foreign troops into their territories during a time of peace: that the great council and the rest of the inhabitants being convinced of governor Silva's wisdom and probity, could not admit a thought so injurious to his character, as to suppose he would encourage any persons under his jurisdiction to give rebels the least assistance, but were certain that on the contrary he would, as became a good neighbour, exert his utmost power towards the suppression of such lawless proceedings.

In answer to this remonstrance the governor replied, that he had no knowledge of any succours sent to the rebels; that those Brasilians and negroes who appeared in arms against the Dutch govern-



ment were no more than banished vagrants, who having committed misdemeanours in the Bahia, took those methods of escaping legal prosecution; that tho' many such like persons came from Per-nambuko to the Bahia, he never entertained the least doubt of the Dutch government's sincerity and friendship. To this the governor added, that he was extremely glad to find the great council entertained a good opinion of his integrity; that he would continue to deserve it, tho' the illegal capture of a Portuguese ship had given him just cause of complaint; and tho' he had great reason to believe that this embassy, as well as the first, was merely calculated to sound his intentions and discover his strength; that nevertheless he would lay the letters of the Dutch regents before his council, and give the ambassadors a speedy answer. Thus ended their first audience.

At the second audience of the ambassadors, the governor told them, that having perused the great council's letter to him, he found it perfectly consonant with what they proposed to him at their first audience; wherefore the same answer would serve for the present, but that he would for greater satisfaction of their masters send a written reply by them, and shortly after dispatch envoys to the Recife, who should declare his sentiments more at large. In consequence of this promise, the ambassadors were furnished with a letter for the great council; and having taken their leave on the 20th of July sailed for the Recife, where arriving the 28th, they acquainted their masters with their negotiations, and delivered to them the governor's letter, which contained solemn assurances of friendship on his part: however, he set forth many causes of complaint against the Dutch, such as unjust proceedings in the conquest of Angola, &c. and seemed to say that the regents had too readily listened

to the information of Jews, as he observed, the sworn enemies of Christians; and in consequence of what they had maliciously said, acts of hostility were committed against the Portuguese inhabitants, who were obliged upon the principles of self-defence to quit their dwellings and seek for safety in arms: then continued, that as to their lordships proposition of obliging Kamaron and Henry Dias with their followers to quit their arms and return to the Bahia, he had not power to fulfil it by compulsion; however, that to shew his friendship, he would use his utmost power of mediation, and send deputies to their lordships for a farther proof of his pacific intentions, and desire to cultivate a good opinion and correspondence with the Dutch.

This letter being delivered to the council, Mr. Hoogstrate proceeded to give them a secret verbal account of the following import: that shortly after his arrival at the Bahia, three Portuguese, Andrew Vidal, captain Kunha, and John de Soufa attempted, by promising of a large reward, to corrupt him; that, as being commander of St. Austin, they might so far prevail on him as to gain that fort for the Portuguese king, offering in lieu of the quiet surrender thereof, to repay the obligation with vast possessions and employments; to confirm which proposal, they told him he might have a private interview with the governor, to which he was accordingly introduced, with great caution and privacy. When the governor saluting him with great marks of affability and friendship, recommended to him the acceptance of Soufa's proposals; for, says he, we do not intend to declare war against the Dutch, but to recover what indisputably belongs to the king our master: then continued, that he could not, for fear of causing suspicion in Hoogstrate's colleague Van Voerde, be so explicit on this occasion as he would wish, but that he would shortly send two

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deputies.



députies to the Receif, captain Kunha one, and that the faid Kunha should be empowered to treat with him at large upon Soufa's propofition, promifing that whatever agreement Kunha should make, would certainly be ratified by the king their mafter.

The military tranfactions, during the abfence of the ambaffadors, were as follows. July the 5th, it was debated in council, whether the Tapoyers of Rio Grande, under their king John Duvy, should be employed againft the rebels: however, forefeeing the inconvenience that muft accrue to the inhabitants, from a march of fuch barbarous irregulars thro' the flat country, it was refolved not to determine this point till colonel Haus had been confulted, to whom a letter on this fubject was immediately difpatched.

On the 7th, an exprefs from colonel Haus to the council arrived, which informed them that he intended to march the next day from Moribeka to St. Lawrence, there upon his junction with captain Blaar to attack the rebels. The fame day the council received a letter from lieutenant Fleming in Pojuka, to inform them that Kamaron was marched againft them, and that two companies of the enemy were come fo near as the fugar-mill of Pikdora; upon which the council difpatched inftructions, directing, that if he could not maintain his poft in the monastery, he should immediately retreat to St. Antonio.

Ensign Hartstein was alfo difpatched, with a detachment of ninety foldiers and thirty Brafilians, to join colonel Haus; and on the 8th, two companies more were ordered to join him. The council judging this expedition to be of the utmoft importance, the next day advice came that captain Blaar had joined the colonel; to which latter the council fent an account of the intelligence they had received from Pojuka, defiring him that he would fend as  
many

many firelocks and Brasilians to the aid of St. Antonio. Two letters from John Fernando Vieira, and Antonio Kavalkanti were received by the council, complaining against the severity of the two last proclamations: however, these two letters were taken no notice of, which contempt was the more especially shewn, as Amador d'Arouje had some two days before retreated from the pass of Pinderama.

Mr. Hoeck, governor of Rio Grande, informed the council, that hitherto there had not been any commotions in that part as yet; however, that he had disarmed the Portuguese, and that the Tapoyers appeared well inclined to the government: orders were immediately sent him to cultivate a good understanding with the Tapoyers, to further which they sent presents to John Duvy. At the same time several Portuguese inhabitants of Dutch Brasil petitioned the council, that the time of six days, appointed by the last proclamation, for the wives and children of the revoltors to leave the country, might be prolonged, till the ways which overflowing rivers rendered impassable were in some measure mended: however, as the rebels proceeded with such violence as to force the inhabitants to join them, the petition was rejected.

On the 13th of July, the council received advice from colonel Haus, that he had passed the river Kapivaribi, and marching thro' the Matta had met with four hundred rebels, who on his approach fled to Moribeka, some of their men being cut off in the retreat; that he was then marching to St. Lawrence, and would there wait the council's further orders. Upon this the council sent him instructions to pursue the rebels immediately, so to prevent them from coming to a head; after which they advised him to fix his head-quarters in some place where he might be supplied with provisions, as they could not spare him any from the Recife: however,



ever, the colonel had of himself taken precautionary steps in this case, having sent a reinforcement of an hundred foot, and a company of Brasilians, to Mr. Ley governor of Moribeka and St. Antonio.

Orders were dispatched to the governor of cape St. Austin, to strengthen the fortifications, he having received Advice from St. Antonio, that the rebels under Amador d'Arouje, and Pedro Marinha Falkao had posted themselves within sight of Mr. Ley, from whence he expected, when he received certain succours, to dislodge them, Arouje having in vain attempted to force those of Pojuka to take up arms against the government.

Whilst colonel Haus was busied against the rebels in the Vergea, Pedro Falkao gathered a sufficient number of rebels to block up St. Antonio, where the garrison were supplied by the adjacent country, in which dilemma the council ordered colonel Haus to hasten thither to relieve the fort; to which purpose the colonel marched the same night he received those orders, leaving a company and all the sick at St. Lawrence, under the direction of captain Wietschut.

Paul de Linge governor of Parayba, by letters dated July the 12th, informed the council that things as yet remained quiet in his district; but that he had considerable trouble in keeping the Brasilians from plundering the Portuguese inhabitants, who on their side complained much, that some of the Brasilians and Tapoyers, who had done them considerable mischief, were discharged out of custody. Upon receipt of this intelligence, the council ordered him to mediate matters as well as he could, and sent a proclamation to the following effect to be published there, that no military person should, on pain of the government's utmost displeasure, presume to invade the least property belonging

ing to any of the Portuguese subjects who had taken a new oath of allegiance.

July the 15th, the council was advertised by Mr. Ley, that the rebels had killed some of the garrison of St. Antonio, who were sent out to fetch in some cattle, and had blocked up the place so closely that the garrison could not get any provisions; and, as they had not necessaries for above a few days longer, were in the utmost danger: upon which the council ordered colonel Haus from St. Lawrence, with several small parties to join him to relieve fort Antonio; or if the colonel did not think it so prudent to go in person, captain Blaar was to undertake the expedition in his stead, as the preservation of cape St. Austin was dependent upon that place.

In consequence of these orders, colonel Haus proceeded on his march, which had so happy an effect, that Pedro Falkao, on the first notice of his approach, raised the siege, and with small parties collected from St. Antonio, Pojuka, and Moribeka, to the amount of about six hundred, retired to the main body of the rebels in the Vergea of Moribeka.



## C H A P VII.

*Instructions of the council to colonel Haus: king John Duvy offers to raise forces and march against the rebels: propositions made for raising men by Mr. Ley: the Tapoyers murder thirty-five Portuguese who had previously laid down their arms: the rebels are defeated; but in their turn obtain a very signal victory over the Dutch troops commanded by colonel Haus: they also harrafs them in different quarters: remonstrances sent to Holland of the necessity of succours from Europe: deceitful conduct of the governor of the Bahia islands: an engagement between the Portuguese and Dutch fleet, in which the former are entirely defeated: reports raised to the disadvantage of the Dutch; but contradicted by their admiral.*

THE council were informed by letters from colonel Haus, that he was obliged to put the men into quarters of refreshment in Moribeka, they having been lately much fatigued with tedious marches; however, that he had sent captain Blaar with a body of the ablest and freshest men to seize two boats laden with ammunition, which Pedro de Kunha had landed in Puerto de Gallinas. On receipt of this advice the council sent their approbation of his conduct to the colonel, and at the same time furnished him with instructions to keep a strict watch upon the rebels, who were retired into the woods, but that in case they grew too strong for him he should retire into the Receif: he was likewise advised that Amador d'Arouje, with the several parties of rebels gathered in St. Antonio and Pojuka, had marched the day before from Moreno Gardo, to join their troops with those under the command of Fernandes Vieira.

Rio Grande being threatened with an invasion by Kamaron on the south, and by the Brafilians of Siara and Maranhaon on the north, the Portuguese inhabitants were all disarmed, and their weapons secured in Fort Keulen, and one Antonio Vitello, with his son, were taken into custody by the advice of king Duvy, who charged them as concerned in the murder of the Dutch at Siara, and other acts of rebellion. Complaints were preferred to the great council against several Portuguese in this district for oppressing the Dutch thereabouts; and they were at the same time informed that king Duvy was ready to lead his Tapoyers against the rebels.

On the 24th of July, Mr. Ley came to the council, and made several propositions to them, importing as follows: that he thought it expedient to force several able young men of Maurice town and St. Antonio to take arms against the rebels, there being a considerable number thereabouts who would not enter as volunteers; that it would be good policy to draw out the garrison of Porto Calvo, as a more formidable appearance might by that be made in the field; also, to divide the land-forces into two parties, the better to maintain themselves in the open country, and to strengthen the garrison of St. Antonio; which latter was the only point they agreed to, for they would by no means suffer force to be used in respect of the inhabitants of St. Antonio, Pojuka, or Moribeka, but empowered Mr. Ley and Heck to enlist all who offered themselves volunteers for four months at nine gilders per month. In respect of Porto Calvo they thought it of too much consequence to venture it without a garrison; and as to the proposed division of the land-forces, they determined to consult colonel Haus.



By letters dated the 18th and 27th of July from Hans Vogel, at Sergippe del Rey, the council were informed that the said Vogel having sent a party out to gain intelligence of Kamaron, they took a single Portuguese, charged with a packet of letters for Rio Francisco, which Portuguese told him, that Kamaron had marched into Sergippe del Rey, and that three or four small vessels with troops aboard, under the command of Andrew Vidal, were sailed from the Bahia to Marahaon and Tiara. The letters taken from the forementioned Portuguese being examined in council, furnished very considerable proofs that those of Bahia were at least accessory to the rebellion: as, among many others, there was found a letter from the bishop of that place to a friar of the Receif, wherein he hoped to be with him ere long. This discovery occasioned an order to the fiscal to examine the matter, and find out, if possible, the bottom of this secret correspondence between the two clergymen. While these matters were under consideration, the Tapoyers of Rio Grande murdered thirty-five Portuguese in the sugar-mills of Kunha, which circumstance caused the greater uneasiness, as they were of the number who had laid down their arms, according to the tenor of the council's proclamation, and consequently this accident must give advantage to the rebels by frightening many over to their party; wherefore Mr. Linge solicited a reinforcement to awe the Tapoyers; upon which the council ordered a détachement to conduct the Tapoyers to the Receif.

By this time the troops of Haus being sufficiently refreshed, he, by consent of the council, went in quest of the rebels, came up with, and attacked them so successfully, that they retired from place to place till the 3d of August, when they took shelter in an entrenchment on a steep hill, accessible only on one side. Thither the colonel, flushed with  
hopes

hopes of a complete and decisive victory pursued them, but the ill consequence of so imprudent, tho' daring an attempt plainly evinced, that courage without conduct is but a very trifling or rather dangerous attribute for a commander, the rebels, from the advantage of their situation, and superior numbers, obliging him to retreat with the loss of an hundred, or as some say, five hundred men, and one captain Lor.

In consequence of this defeat, and being apprised that the rebels expected succours from the Bahia, Haus thought it necessary to retreat into the Receif, knowing likewise that his troops were absolutely wanted to defend the place.

On the 1st of August, two Portuguese, Goncalvo Cabral de Kaldos, and Thomas Pais, were condemned as abettors of the rebellion; and the same day letters came from Serenhaim, which informed the council that many rebels appeared thereabouts, who had made themselves masters of the river, staved all the boats, plundered D'Ingenio Formosa, and killed all the beasts belonging to the Dutch, leaving those which belonged to the Portuguese unhurt.

The council being thus alarmed and perplexed with disagreeable accounts from all quarters, and rightly judging that nothing but force could reduce the rebels to reason, which means they did not find themselves possessed of, especially as the Dutch troops diminished daily, resolved to send Mr. Balthasar Vander Voerden to Holland, to acquaint the council of nineteen with the true state of Dutch Brasil: accordingly the said Vander Voerden being furnished with the necessary instructions, sailed from the Receif, taking with him a letter, setting forth in an explicit manner, the perfidious behaviour of Antonio Telles de Silva, who under a specious mask of friendship endeavoured secretly to corrupt



corrupt one of the Dutch officers; and also sent succours to the rebels: these proceedings the great council of Brasil submitted to the council of nineteen, requesting that their lordships would take all possible and speedy methods to ward off impending destruction, by a timely supply of those succours necessary for defence of the settlements.

Having taken a view of the proceedings of the Dutch, let us turn our eyes to the Bahia, where it appears that immediately after the departure of Messrs. Vander Voerden and Hoogstrate from thence on their return home, governor Silva ordered all the sea and land-forces that could be collected, to embark on board of twelve ships which were ready to receive them, with arms, ammunition, and provisions necessary for the intended invasion, Hieronymo Serão de Payvo being appointed commander of the fleet, and colonel Martin Moreno of the land-forces.

This armament got ready under colour of forcing the rebels to obedience, was ordered to sail as secretly as possible from the Bahia to Pernambuco, where the land-forces were to be put on shore at the most convenient harbour, which was accordingly done at Tamandre, when the fleet, according to order, sailed for the Receif, admiral Payva being instructed to deliver a letter from the governor to the great council with his own hands.

The land-forces put on shore the 28th of July, under the command of colonel Martin Moreno and Andrew Vidal, numbered between eighteen hundred and two thousand men, among whom were many well experienced officers, the whole body being extremely well furnished with every military appointment.

The Portuguese fleet under admiral Payva being joined by another fleet from Rio Janeiro, commanded

manded by admiral Salvador, steered their course towards the bay of Pernambuko.

The first intelligence the great council received of these motions on the side of the Portuguese, was from the master of a small vessel who had met their fleet to the amount of twenty eight or thirty ships off Una, three of which pursued and fired after him: about the same time major Hoogstrate sent letters from cape St. Austin, intimating, that a body of troops landed at Una had marched to Serenhaim, taken the place, where they gave quarters to the Dutch, but cut the Brasilians to pieces; whereupon the council sent orders to Mr. Ley to leave Fort Antonio, and march with the garrison thereof to cape St. Austin, whither also they sent a supply of provisions; and for the better defence of their territories, they gave orders for getting the small fleet the Dutch had there in immediate readiness; and at the same time intelligence of the enemy's arrival was dispatched to the governors of the several districts.

The Portuguese fleet coming to anchor over night off the Receif, next morning their admiral sent two deputies on board the Dutch admiral, with whom he sent four letters, two from the governor of Bahia, one from each of the admirals Salvador and Payva; besides, a letter from governor Silva to Vieira and Kavalkanti. Admiral Lichthart having carried the deputies ashore, they delivered the letters to the council, which after being translated were read, and found to contain, exclusive of many fair words and friendly protestations, nothing more than some sophistical arguments to persuade the Dutch council, that their very good friend governor Silva had sent them succours both by land and sea to crush rebellion, tho' they had signified to him that a severe proclamation issued by him against the rebels would better please them: to  
this



this the deputies added, that the governor would be obliged to the great council, if they would, by a letter to his master the king of Portugal, signify his manner of proceeding.

In taking a view of governor Silva's evasive conduct, it will not be amiss to observe, that in his letter to Vieira and the rest of the rebels, he styled them the king's subjects, for whose defence he had sent the necessary succours; but with this paltry restriction, that they were to use all gentle means in bringing the rebels to obedience of the Dutch government.

From a comparison of circumstances it appearing manifest, that governor Silva acted contrary to the council's interest and intentions; and, instead of recalling the Portuguese subjects who had joined the rebellion, sent forces to aid them; and likewise caused so formidable a fleet to appear before the Receif, for no other end but that of spiring up the rebels; they very justly viewed him as a treacherous and deep scheming enemy: wherefore the presence of the Portuguese gave great uneasiness, especially as the Dutch naval force in that part of the world was only five ships; that number was indeed ready for sailing, but very indifferently manned, and scantily provided with ammunition, especially gun-powder.

The council, upon mature deliberation of the present circumstances, unanimously resolved to thank admiral Salvador for the proposed succours; and to desire him, for several reasons then set forth, to quit the harbour with his fleet: in consequence of this resolution, a letter was dispatched from the great council to the admiral, which at worst might gain time for the preparation of two ships then getting ready to strengthen the Dutch fleet, which in case the Portuguese proceeded to hostilities, might give some probability of standing against them: however,

however, to remove all doubts, the Portuguese fleet got under sail the 14th, by break of day.

It being now agreed on all sides, that the governor of the Bahia endeavoured only to amuse the great council, till a fair opportunity presented itself to subvert their government, orders were given to admiral Lichthart to treat the Portuguese as enemies wherever he could meet them.

Intelligence being received that the Portuguese intended to land some men at the bay of Frackona, Mr. Linge was ordered to collect all the soldiers and Tapoyers he could, to prevent their junction with the rebels in that captainship. A debate was also held whether it would not be prudent to send some ships under the command of admiral Lichthart thither, with peremptory orders to attack the Portuguese as soon as possible; but, after various arguments, it was agreed to wait till the naval power was rendered as strong as possible, by getting ready all the ships and helping the deficiency of sailors with a number of able land-men to be collected in the Receif.

Affairs being brought to the present serious crisis, all possible preparations, offensive and defensive, were made by the council; and the fleet, when ready, sailed under the command of admiral Lichthart to the bay of Tamandre, where they attacked a Portuguese squadron, admiral against admiral; when after a warm engagement, above seven hundred Portuguese were killed, their admiral made prisoner, and several of their ships destroyed; of which success Lichthart acquainted the council by a letter, wherein he promised a speedy return to the Receif, there being no appearance of any future action where he then was.

A report having prevailed, that in the engagement between the fleets, the Dutch had behaved  
with



with great cruelty, the Portuguese admiral Payva wrote a letter to Andrew Vidal, justifying the behaviour of the Dutch, and highly commending their humane generous treatment both of the prisoners and wounded.

### C H A P. VIII.

*Fort Serenhaim taken by the Portuguese, who are guilty of many barbarities; which they endeavour to excuse: their publications are refuted by the Dutch: the Portuguese attack cape St. Austin; which, together with the whole garrison is betrayed for a sum of money: the character of the traitor canvassed: colonel Haus retreats with the forces under his command: resolution of the Brasilians: several Dutch officers made prisoners: their treatment: Ziseers and Bruckhausen in danger of assassination: the former is put to the rack; but at last both get off to Holland: bad news from Rio St. Francisco: an amnesty published by the Dutch council.*

IN answer to the admiral's letter in favour of the behaviour of the Dutch, Andrew Vidal replied, that many flagrant instances might be produced of the most violent abuses committed against his Portuguese majesty's subjects, for which he hoped speedy and severe vengeance might be taken: at the same time he sent a letter to the great council, teeming with complaints, and requesting, or indeed rather ordering them to take care of their future conduct towards the Portuguese, lest he should be under a necessity of making reprisals.

Upon the taking of Fort Serenhaim, a specious declaration was made by the Portuguese, importing that they came into the Dutch territories merely as mediators; but, finding their countrymen  
treated

treated with most unparalleled barbarity, and even fearing their own safety tho' they came as friends, they were forced to take precautionary steps against Dutch treachery: nevertheless, it soon appeared that the complainants were most guilty; for, immediately after the surrender of Serinhaim, in direct opposition to the terms of that capitulation, they began to lord it over the country as undoubted masters thereof. Thirty poor Brasilians, tho' protected by treaty, they put to death, and committed many other acts of violence equally unjust, tho' not quite so cruel; however, safe-guards were furnished to the Dutch inhabitants, but two of whom quitted the district of Serinhaim tho' affairs wore so unfavourable an aspect.

The Portuguese commanders still labouring more and more to varnish over the face of guilt, wrote a long letter to the great council, wherein the complaints already mentioned were repeated with great exaggeration, and many new ones added besides, as a proof of their friendly intentions. At the time of their landing with this letter, they issued a proclamation, requiring all Portuguese, of what degree soever, to appear before them in eight days, to the end that they might restore public tranquillity by a reconciliation of contending parties. To this letter the great council determined upon a very short answer, and ordered the two counsellors De Wit and Moucheron, assisted by by Mr. Walbeck, to refute the proclamation; by another, evincing that the disorders then subsisting deduced their origin from the rebels and their adherents only, whereby the conduct of the council in Brasil might be cleared up and justified to the council of nineteen in Holland.

After these quibbling preparatives to action, the Portuguese troops, lately landed from the Bahia, marched towards Cape St. Austin, where being join-



ed by Kamaron Dias, and the inhabitants, they resolved to besiege the fort Vander Duffen; which design the great council being previously informed of, they sent Mr. Bullaestrete and admiral Lichthart to review the fortifications, and cause them to be put in as defensible order as the circumstance of things would admit; which commission they executed with all possible diligence; but, as it afterwards appeared, to very little purpose; for major Hoogstrate, whose integrity the council greatly relied on, sold the fort for the sum of eighteen thousand guilders, and the command of a regiment of Dutch deserters. Thus a place of the utmost consequence was betrayed by a man, who sometime before appeared, in his secret discoveries to the council, beyond the power of corruption; a man who derived his fortune entirely from the patronage of the company; yet he not only sold the fort, in return for their favours, but conferred on them the additional obligation of carrying over the whole garrison to the enemy: and to aggravate his treachery, if such matchless ingratitude could admit of aggravation, several letters were discovered, which proved beyond doubt, that he had schemed his villainy ever since the time he went envoy with Mr. Voerden to the Bahia. Wherefore we may justly conclude, that his discovery of the governor's proposals to him was to lull suspicion, and by gaining the confidence of the great council, to secure the means of becoming a traitor to his country in general, and to his friends in particular.

Colonel Haus, being apprehensive that the Dutch forces which were in camp must stand in great danger of being cut off by the enemy, proposed their retreating into the Receif, as well for their own safety as for the defence of that place: after some opposition, the colonel's proposal was agreed to; and it was resolved, August the 15th, that those

those troops should retreat into the Receif with all possible expedition; captain Wiltſchut and fifty men being ordered to remain as a protection to the foraging parties.

In purſuance of this reſolution, Haus went from the Receif to command the retreat, but was ſo dilatory that he let ſlip a night and a day without doing any thing, which gave Andrew Vidal an opportunity of coming up with him, whoſe troops being much ſuperior in number, put Haus to flight, and forced him into the houſe of De Wit, where he ſoon after ſurrendered at diſcretion. The miſfortune of this defeat appeared to be entirely owing to the neglect or ignorance of Haus, either of which was ſeverely reproved by captain Wiltſchut, who upon the colonel's aſking him what was beſt to be done, replied, " Sir, as you never aſked our advice till things were in an almoſt irreparable ſtate, e'en do what you think beſt."

Here the Portugueſe cruelty ſhewed itſelf again; for tho' quarter was given on capitulation to the Dutch, yet ſuch Braſilians as eſpouſed their cauſe were cut in pieces; which barbarity raiſed ſuch indignation and deſpair in their wives, that they exerciſed a moſt unnatural fortitude, and daſhed out the brains of their children to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

All the Dutch, to the number of two hundred and fifty, with colonel Haus, captains Blaar and Liſtry being made priſoners, Fernandes Vieira and many inhabitants ſolicited Andrew Vidal to deliver the ſaid priſoners into their hands, in order, as it is thought, to have ſacrificed them to revenge; but Vidal had generoſity enough to deny this requeſt, and ſend the priſoners under a proper convoy to the Bahia, where they were indifferently well treated, and allowed two ſhillings and ſeven-pence half-penny per week, with a meaſure of meal every ten



days: however, tho' the main body of Dutch, by Vidal's care, escaped assassination, yet such as by sickness or any other accident were left behind, immediately fell a prey to the most insatiate cruelty.

The prisoners at the Bahia were indulged with the liberty of the whole city, except the colonel and the captains: these were confined to their lodgings, and ordered not to speak with any person who had not special leave given them for that purpose.

After the surrender of Cape St. Austin, the garrison were carried to, and disarmed at St. Antonio; among other prisoners were Isaac Zweers, afterwards vice-admiral of Holland, Abraham Van Millingen, and John Broekheufen, all of whom the traitor Hoogstrate endeavoured to seduce into the Portuguese service, but without effect, they being men of unshaken integrity; men, who instead of accepting sordid bribes even in captivity, laboured to serve their country: for, having observed that an attack was to be made on the island of Hamarika, they determined, if possible, to acquaint the great council therewith; for which purpose Isaac Zweers, with great difficulty and large promises of reward, prevailed on a Dutch trumpeter named Stomp to bear the intelligence; and, lest any accident should prevent him from fulfilling his errand, another messenger was sought out in the person of Peter Ritvaur, a baker, who was also dispatched thither, a letter being at his own request given him, to certify that he never served the Portuguese.

The prisoners Zweers and Broekheufen having received intimation that their lives were in danger, they concluded some discovery had been made of their secret couriers; wherefore thinking it advisable to shift their ground, they asked colonel Falkao's leave to go to the Algodais, a request which he immediately granted them. However, they were shortly

after

after in the most imminent danger ; for the baker being intercepted by two Portuguese, was detained on account of the certificate already mentioned, and put to the torture, which made so much noise among the inhabitants of St. Antonio de Cabo, that they insisted upon having Zweers and Broekheusen brought from the Algodais that they might be cut in pieces ; which threats would certainly have been executed but for the interposition of captain Ley.

The secret thus in one place narrowly escaped entire discovery ; for the baker, tho' tortured, told nothing material : yet was very near disclosed in another ; the trumpeter's wife having told some of her acquaintance, that her husband was gone to the Receif, though she had received repeated charges to say he was gone quite a different way. However, as a secret must work its way out of a female breast, she threw aside caution ; but finding her error, shewed, by standing the torture without any farther discovery, that a woman may have resolution enough to bear any pain but that of keeping a secret.

Major Hoogstrate being of opinion, that it was dangerous to keep the Dutch longer in Pernambuco, the prisoners were all sent to the Algodais, where they were severally asked to serve his Portuguese majesty, such as refused being told that they would be sent to the Bahia, a very wearisome journey over-land. Zweers and Broekheusen being asked, answered as before with a truly noble resolution, that they would sooner die than take up arms against their country ; whereupon they were carried with other prisoners to Pojuka, where they had but just arrived when Zweers was ordered back to Cape St. Austin, where he was put to the rack, to extort confession from him concerning the trumpeter's journey to the Receif : however, he had



sufficient resolution to withstand the torture, and defeat their expectations of a discovery; whereupon, after five weeks imprisonment, he was sent to the Bahia, where Mr. Broekheusen and the rest of the Dutch prisoners arrived on the 28th day of November, after a most tedious and fatiguing journey.

During the time of their residence at the Bahia, Zweers and Broekheusen intercepted a letter from Hoogstrate, concerning several material transactions, which being discovered, they were immediately cast into a loathsome dungeon where they underwent particular hardship, being almost starved to death; yet, after many calamities they were at last sent to Portugal, from whence they took ship for Holland.

The defeat of colonel Haus already mentioned, put the council and all the inhabitants of the Receif into so strong a consternation, that they fancied the rebels just at their gates; wherefore every thought was turned upon defence: Peter Bas was appointed commander in chief of the Receif, admiral Lichthart had the conduct of the artillery, and Moucheron was nominated commander of Maurice's town.

Notwithstanding these repeated acts of hostilities, Andrew Vidal again wrote to the council, observing, that he had the strongest inclination to maintain the peace, but that several circumstances concurred to justify the measures he had taken: to which the council peremptorily replied, that they esteemed, on manifest proofs, not only his declarations evasive, but also those of governor Silva; therefore protested against his proceedings, and required him, if he really had any regard to treaty, to retire with his troops to the Bahia.

After the defeat of Haus, it was judged advisable to endeavour at removing the garrisons from  
the

the forts in Rio St. Francisco, and Sergippe de Rey, where it was impossible for them to do any considerable service to the Receif. When the council of war had given their approbation of this step, two barks and a ship were ordered to Rio Francisco, but being interrupted in their expedition by a Portuguese vessel, full of armed men, the council was obliged to send a yacht and three barks more to reinforce them, captain William Lambartz being appointed commodore, who returned to the Receif October 1st, where he gave an account of his expedition to the following import, viz. That three days before his arrival, the fort of Rio St. Francisco had, after a siege of twenty-six days, for want of provisions and wood, surrendered; that the enemy had taken such measures as must inevitably put Sergippe into their hands; and had also made themselves masters of Fort Dos Affagados, where Mr. Bullaestrete was made prisoner; in which terrible situation of affairs, he thought it most prudent for him to return to the Receif, not crowned with success, but as the messenger of very disagreeable news.

By the articles of capitulation the garrisons of Rio St. Francisco, Sergippe and Porto Calvo were to be sent to the Receif; but, in contradiction thereto, were carried as prisoners to the Bahia. Several of the soldiers dreading so tedious a march, entered into the Portuguese service, sixty-four of whom, with captain Nicholas Nicholson at their head, shortly after deserted to the Dutch; which accident so enraged the Portuguese, that they put all who remained amongst them to death, and slaughtered also many of the Dutch inhabitants.

The success of the rebels spiriting up the malecontents of Parayba, they took arms against the government; however, by the wisdom and vigilance of Mr. Linge, who had hitherto almost miracu-



lously kept them quiet; their designs were rendered ineffectual, when finding that force was not likely to prevail, they had again recourse to artifice, and made a proposal of nineteen thousand gilders to the governor; but he convinced them Hoogstrate's principles were not universal, by causing the messenger to be hanged.

The council, in order to gain as much additional strength as possible, sent two deputies to the chiefs of the Tapoyers, representing to them the necessity of their joining forces with the Dutch for mutual defence; and issued a proclamation at the same time, offering pardon to all such as had deserted or entered into the Portuguese service, on condition they would return, Hoogstrate and such like traitors being excepted.

#### C H A P. VIII.

*The rebels and Portuguese block up the Receif; attack the Dutch near Hamarika, but are repulsed: the Dutch rout them again: a very beautiful woman made prisoner: Gaspar Gonsalves, a spy in the Portuguese interest, made prisoner: designs to burn the Dutch fleet: cruelties and proceedings of Kamaron: Jacob Rabbi treacherously murdered: Colonel Garfman put under an arrest: state of affairs between the Dutch and Portuguese in Europe: captain Lambart killed; John Vieira d'Allegoas accused of treason, convicted and punished: the Receif in great distress.*

THE rebels having, in conjunction with the Portuguese, blocked up all the avenues leading to the Receif, seemed determined to reduce it by famine; but finding matters too well prepared against them, they resolved to proceed against Hamarika,

marika, whither accordingly they dispatched the greater part of their troops, with all possible expedition; and having attacked the Dutch forces on a hill near the city, they forced them to retreat into their entrenchment near the church; upon which they made three vigorous assaults, being so often repulsed with very considerable loss: Kamaron and Hoogstrate were both wounded, and in consequence of this defeat were obliged to quit the island.

The great council being informed that the Portuguese had been encouraged to attack Hamarika, by promises of assistance from some secret enemies, thought it necessary to remove captain Sluyter, with his company, whom they replaced with the men under captain Lambartz's command, making the said Lambartz commander in chief of all the forces there: about the same time the council received letters from Andrew Vidal concerning a cartel for the exchange of prisoners; and proposing that such of the Portuguese inhabitants as were prisoners should be released for a reasonable ransom, which the council would not agree to.

The enemy being disappointed in their hopes of gaining Parayba by treachery, renewed their design of starving the garrison of the Receif into capitulation; however, the Tapoyers in Rio Grande being too powerful for the Portuguese, made that country furnish supplies to the Receif, which occasioned the rebels to send out several parties by way of prevention, but they were so unsuccessful as to be obliged to retreat to Parayba.

By the deposition of captain Nicholson, whom we have already mentioned, the eight companies of Dutch who had entered themselves in the Portuguese service under Hoogstrate's command, amounted to the number of two hundred and fifty-seven men variously armed: the troops sent from the Bahia he numbered at seven hundred; and besides



these he observed that there were about three hundred and forty vagrants of different nations.

On the 2d of November, letters came from Mr. Linge in Parayba, to the great council, informing them that Vidal had entered that captainship at the head of two hundred men, and that Kamaron had strongly solicited his relation Peter Potti to revolt with his Brasilians: however, that solicitation proved vain, as Potti and his party remained firm in their allegiance; of which they gave the council an additional proof, by sending all letters of the enemy to them unopened to the Receif, which with other instances of sincerity placed them beyond suspicion.

November the 14th, intelligence was received that a party of three hundred Dutch, in conjunction with some Brasilians, had, after a very smart engagement, defeated eight hundred of the enemies troops, of whom many fell; which success so encouraged the Brasilians that they over-ran the flat country, and meeting with several Portuguese, put them all to the sword, except a virgin of very particular beauty, whose charms had so much influence even upon enraged barbarians, that they used no farther violence than bringing her prisoner to the fort of Parayba.

Shortly after this, a detachment of three hundred and sixty men were ordered to Kunhao, to attack the enemy that were come to Rio Grandé from Parayba; but they being informed thereof retired to a retrenchment among some bogs, and gave the Dutch so warm a reception that they were obliged to retire with some loss to the castle of Keulen, as well to refresh, as to prevent the Portuguese from penetrating farther into the country.

The council being desirous to get some intelligence concerning the naval force at the Bahia, sent thither a ship to cruise off the harbour, and take prizes

prizes if she met with any, and at the same time inform the Brazilian chiefs, that they had received a large quantity of ammunition, besides intelligence from Holland, that a powerful fleet would shortly sail for the protection of Dutch Brasil. This artifice gave the Brazilians particular satisfaction, as they had been somewhat intimidated by reports which the Portuguese had very industriously propagated, that no succours were or could be expected from Holland.

In the month of December, one Gaspar Gonfaves was taken prisoner in Hamarika, who upon examination was found to be an agent for the Portuguese, sent thither to persuade the Brazilians, that the Dutch were privately selling their interest in the country; being determined to retire with their effects to Holland, and leave their friends to the mercy of an enraged enemy: this artful report had so far the desired effect, as to cause great discontent among the Brazilians, which was with great difficulty palliated by Caspar Honyhouse, who was appointed their chief upon Listry's being made prisoner.

Several unsuccessful attempts were made to burn the Dutch fleet, and three hundred men were ordered to attack Peter Potti in his entrenchments; however, shortly after, Potti with one hundred and fifty Brazilians engaged four hundred of the enemy, whom he put to flight, twenty being killed, and several wounded on their side, and but one upon his.

The council having received advice from Mr. Linge, that Kamaron, at the head of five hundred well-appointed foldiers, had marched from Parayba to Rio Grande, with design to prevent supplies of provisions going from thence to the Dutch garisons, by which means he hoped to oblige them to a speedy surrender, they, after mature de-



liberation, resolved to draw one hundred and sixty men from Hamarika, and the like number from Parayba, which, under the command of captain Welling and lieutenant Bresman, were ordered to Rio Grande, to oppose and frustrate the enemies designs on that side.

Mr. Bas, a member of the great council, who was sent to Parayba to consult with Mr. Linge about the best methods for defence, dispatched a letter from the castle of Keulen in Rio Grande, wherein he signified that a storm had prevented him from landing his forces at Kunhao, where he hoped to join captain Rhinebergh, but he had put them ashore near Peringi, during which time Kamaron having forced his way thro' the Matta, surprised many of the inhabitants, all of whom, without paying any regard to sex or age, he gave to the edge of the sword. Then he posted his forces, consisting of four hundred soldiers, as many Brasilians, and eighty Tapoyers, where he judged they would best answer the end of cutting off provisions from the Dutch troops, who being a thousand strong, marched on the 23d of January to attack the enemy, and force them, if possible, out of Rio Grande. It being dubious, according to the circumstance of things, whether the Portuguese would hazard a battle, the council deliberated, whether upon their retreating to Parayba it would be prudent to pursue them thither, and endeavour at the recovery of that captainship; but this being esteemed an enterprise of too desperate a nature, was laid aside, and orders were sent to Mr. Bas and the other commanding officers, to act with all possible circumspection in the recovery of Rio Grande, without attempting any thing farther.

According to letters from Mr. Bas at fort Keulen, dated the 30th of January, captain Rhinebergh had attacked the enemy six several times,  
and

and tho' he had rather the worst of the action, nevertheless, in consequence thereof, they retreated to Parayba.

On the 4th of March, Mr. Bas, having returned the forces to Mr. Linge which had been drawn from Parayba some time before, arrived with five hundred men in the Receif, and the following day furnished the council with a journal of his expedition.

From the 9th to the 30th of March, frequent skirmishes happened, without any remarkable advantage on either side: the council was alarmed with intelligence, that Kamaron had again entered Rio Grande; but colonel Garfman eased their fears, by advice that the enemy had retreated without attempting any thing material. Not many days after, the council received information that Jacob Rabbi, a most industrious agent and sanguine friend to the Portuguese in gaining the Tapoyers to their side, was, at the instigation of colonel Garfman, treacherously murdered, which circumstance gave considerable uneasiness, as they knew not how much mischief it might occasion; however, to shew their disapprobation of so illegal an act, when colonel Garfman returned to the Receif, they ordered him to be arrested, and put prisoner aboard a ship called the Hollandia.

Some seditious papers dispersed, to taint the minds of the Dutch soldiery, were found and delivered to the council, whereupon they issued a proclamation, upbraiding such of their countrymen as had entered into the enemy's service with treachery, and advising them to return to their allegiance. They likewise published a copy of a letter, delivered by the Portuguese ambassador at the Hague to the states general, from the king his master, with the states answer thereto, hoping, that as the king of Portugal disowned the war, and governor Silva's measures,



fures, the publication of the faid letter would, in fome meafure, open the eyes of the Portuguefe inhabitants, as it tended to prove their hopes of affiftance from Portugal, vain, as alfo to create divifions between them and the Portuguefe commanders.

By the difpofition of the rebel forces and their allies, provifions growing very fcarce in the Receif; feveral parties were fent out for fupplies, but without fuctefs. A skirmifh happened in Hamarika, wherein fixteen Dutch were killed, and twenty-fix wounded, captain Lambartz being among the latter.

By a letter to the council, on the 3d of May, they received advice, that the Brafilians in Hamarika had been prevailed upon, by the artifices of the enemy, to refufe their duty; however, that the interpofition of Mr. Aprifius, one of their minifters, had reconciled them to their former attachment, and lulled to reft all inquietude for the prefent. Provifions began now to grow fo fcarce, not only in the Receif, but alfo in Hamarika, Parayba, and Rio Grande, that fifhing was thought a very neceffary expedient, and was therefore much encouraged, Mr. Hamel and Mr. Bas giving orders to buy up all the yarn that that could be got, in order to make up nets. At this juncture a Portuguefe, who having committed man-flaughter in Angola, fled from thence to the Receif for fhelter, gave information againft John Vieira d'Allegoas as a traitor to the ftate; upon which the faid Vieira was ordered into cuftody, and the Portuguefe charged him with delivering to his care, a parchment infcribed with certain characters, and a box with feveral other papers to be delivered to the enemy, which parchment box and papers the Portuguefe produced in court; whereupon Vieira having denied the charge, was put to the rack, yet ftill remained refolute in his denial, till the key of thofe characters.

characters on the parchment being found among his papers, enabled a Jew to decypher them, when it appeared that Vieira had given the enemy an exact account how matters were situated in the Receif, and alfo instructions how they might make themselves masters of it : tho' he had withstood the torture, yet this palpable discovery drew confession from him of what the Portuguese had alledged ; in consequence whereof he was put to death.

About the 1st of June, the magazines were reduced to so low an ebb, as to be provided with stores for a few weeks only ; wherefore the bread was to be distributed only in certain quantities, the members of the great council themselves not being exempt from the limitation ; and, to prevent discontent among the soldiers, six-pence was paid them instead of a pound of meat, and they had in point of bread a manifest advantage ; for all persons whatever, except them, were allowed only two pounds per week, their portion being three.

The council having received information, that Garfman had endeavoured, without their orders, to lure the Tapoyers into Rio Grande, were under no small surprize at so imprudent a step, as thereby their supplies of provision, at the most very scanty, were much diminished ; wherefore they immediately took the necessary steps to draw the Tapoyers by fair means into their habitations. The prudent conduct of the council had so happy an effect, that, by the assistance of Rio Grande, the Receif was tolerably furnished till the arrival of supplies from Holland ; and it was generally supposed, that the said captainship would have furnished necessaries to the southern garrisons sometime longer, had it not been for the number of twelve hundred Brasilians, who on being reduced to the utmost straits in Hamarika, were ordered by the council to Rio Grande, there to subsist upon what the country could afford ;



ford ; in consequence of this disposition, ships were sent to transport them from Hamarika to Rio Grande.

In such a state of exigence and perplexity, it is not to be wondered that many desperate and romantic propositions should be made and debated ; however, prudence was not quite so effectually disabled by distress, but that the council was enough tempered with proper resolution, to wait the expected supplies from Holland, rather than hazard all upon any particular effort.

### C H A P. IX.

*The Portuguese, under Andrew Vidal, summon Hamarika to surrender : a conspiracy detected : the inhabitants of the Receif reduced to vast distress ; they are relieved by succours from Holland : the enemy retreats from Hamarika ; they are driven from the pass of Barelda, which is strengthened by colonel Schoppe : the old council resign in favour of other members from Holland : letters between the new council and the governor of Bahia : a very menacing message sent by Fernandes Vieira : colonel Schoppe attacks and reduces Rio St. Francisco : a party of Dutch defeated near Rio St. Francisco, and several of their officers killed.*

THE enemy being informed, that the departure of the Brasilians from Hamarika had much weakened the garrisons, resolved to attack that island, and accordingly landed there to the number of two thousand ; when Andrew Vidal and Fernandes Vieira wrote a letter to Mr. Dortmund, in terms complaisant tho' haughty ; signifying that they were willing to treat with him upon the rules of war, and that they could not suppose him so ignorant of their superior strength, and the impossibility of his resisting them to any end but certain destruction,

destruction, as to refuse their proposition, to which they required an answer the next day. This summons induced Mr. Dortmond to solicit the council for immediate succours, which in reality they were not able to send him, because they wanted men much, but provisions more, at this very disagreeable juncture, when misfortunes pressed hard on every hand. Some gunners were convicted of having taken money to betray the fort of Orange, for which treachery two of them were very justly put to death, the rest being fortunate enough to escape the merited punishment.

The circumstances to which the inhabitants and garrison of the Receif were at last reduced, make up a picture of distress almost beyond description, surrounded not by generous, but implacable foes without the city, attacked by famine and all its dismal consequences within; despair hung over like a cloud, while fainting nature sunk beneath the load of misery; cats, dogs, and even carrion claimed the greatest regard, and to meet with a sufficiency of either was esteemed happiness; some who had basked in the sunshine of life, and indulged luxuriant appetites with the most delicate productions, were now glad of contending for such morsels as the poorest beggars would despise, and the brute creation neglect. In this melancholy situation, without prospect of relief, or what was to be done, life upon such terms appeared to all unworthy of care: and it was universally agreed, that to die in an attempt for liberty and sustenance was far preferable to the calamitous state of starving to death; that as they had flaid in expectation of supplies till nature could hold out no longer, they could not be deemed culpable for setting their all upon a single cast. Wherefore they resolved, council and all, to sally out and trust their success to that despair which urged them on; but ere this fatal re-

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solve was put in execution, two vessels under Dutch colours appeared in sight of the Receif. This happy incident gave a respite to calamity, and straight a gleam of joy appeared, which when the ships came to anchor, and by a signal of three guns gave assurance that they came from Holland, increased to universal transport, infomuch that those who could not for want of strength walk, crawled to the harbour, where they received the comfortable news that the whole convoy might be hourly expected. This providential supply was not only of the most happy consequence, in regard of the famine at the Receif, but also proved of singular service in the affair of Hamarika; for the rebels no sooner heard of it, than they quitted the island, very justly foreseeing that their retreat might be cut off by means of the ships lately arrived from Holland; so that adversity seemed now to move a little off, and despair made way for the first comfort of life, hope.

The fleet equipped in Holland for the protection of the Receif, met with more misfortunes than were ever crouded into the same space of time; from their setting out, the elements seemed to conspire against them, else the relief would have been much more timely. Bankert, admiral of Zealand had the command of all the ships, and colonel Sigismund Shoppe, a very experienced officer, of the land-forces.

Besides the military persons embarked on board of this squadron, there came five new members of the great council to relieve the old ones. All the ships being arrived, and intelligence received that the enemy intended to erect a fort on the Pass of Barretta, it was unanimously agreed, that the said pass, as of the utmost consequence, should be seized and fortified against them; to which end colonel Shoppe, with all the forces he could immediately muster, marched thither, ordering the materials for the intended

tended fortifications to follow him the next tide: on his arrival having with ease displaced the enemy, he took possession of the house of Baretta.

The new members of the great council being all arrived at the Receif, Mr. Henry Hamel, Mr. Bullaestrete, and Mr. Bas ordered a general assembly, civil and military, to be called; at which the old members resigned the reins of government to those appointed their successors, returning the several orders of people thanks for their steady attachment to them while governors, and recommending perseverance in the same towards the new council, who from that time transacted all public affairs; however, the old members were complimented with a request, that they would give their assistance in all matters of moment.

A general review being thought necessary, the same was appointed, and proper persons sent for that purpose to the several garrisoned places, and at the same time a fresh proposition of pardon was published and sent to the enemy, with a letter to the Portuguese commanders of those troops which came from the Bahia, desiring them once again to withdraw their forces. To this an answer came from the Portuguese colonel, which being read in the great council, appeared to be little more than a collection of falsities and palpable evasions; their strength was greatly enlarged upon in it, as well as in letters from Fernandes Vieira, directed to several Dutch merchants, which arch-rebel wrote in the stile of a conqueror, remonstrating to the said merchants, that it was impossible for the Dutch power, in that part of the world to stand against him, especially as providence seemed to combat on his side, of which he enumerated many proofs, as he stiled them: to this he added most severe threats against any of the inhabitants who should appear in arms against him; and complained heavily,



vily, that an officer who had been sent with letters to the great council, was examined in a sinister manner by them, and abused for not giving satisfactory answers: "But, continues he, if they dare to appear in the field, I'll try whether their swords are as nimble as their tongues, and teach them what respect is due to the messengers of those persons who have supreme command here."

On the 14th of September, another ship of war from Holland arrived in the Receif, after a passage of fourteen weeks: about the same time the enemy caused several insolent pamphlets to be published, wherein they haughtily proposed terms of grace to all such as would seek their protection.

Colonel Shoppe having made several attacks upon the enemy, mostly unsuccessful ones, the Dutch forces were so much diminished thereby, that they were not in a condition to cope with the Portuguese near the Receif, which made the council resolve to attempt the recovery of Rio St. Francisco, the execution of which enterprize was committed to the management of colonel Henderson, who fulfilled his orders without much difficulty, as he met with very slight opposition.

On the 30th of November, the states sustained a considerable loss in the death of admiral Lichthart, which was occasioned by drinking a large quantity of cold water, after having overheated himself. Mr. Nieuhoff being ordered to Rio St. Francisco, went there accordingly, and well nigh escaped drowning, being overset in a boat. Some parties being sent out, scoured the country, and brought in seven hundred oxen, and three hundred calves. Shortly after, a fire happened in the soldiers quarters, by which means many of them lost all their cloaths, which loss however was repaired by the order of the colonel: this accident might, had it happened by night,

night, have done considerable mischief, especially as it was supposed an act of treachery.

Intelligence being brought to the Dutch quarters, that the enemy began to appear in a considerable body, five companies were dispatched to attack them, and seize all the cattle that could be found; the first advice received of this party was that they were unfortunately closed in by the enemy, in such a manner that it was hardly possible for one to escape. This intelligence occasioned great consternation; to increase which, news arrived, that the said party was entirely routed, the captains Schut, Cousin, and La Montayne, with a great number of the men being killed; which mishap was entirely attributed to the rashness of the Dutch troops, who, contrary to colonel Henderson's orders, upon firing threw down their muskets, rushed upon the enemy sword in hand, and were thereby drawn into an ambuscade; some that fled from their posts were marked out for death, but having gone thro' all the terrors of preparation for that awful period, were pardoned. Captain Gyfeling's lieutenant however met with the due reward of cowardice; for being sent to the Retreat, he there had his sword broke over his head, and was rendered incapable of ever serving the company again, tho' faithful service for seven preceding years pleaded in his favour. To many other disagreeable circumstances, which at this juncture concurred in perplexing the company's affairs, we may add the revolt of the Tapoyers, who quitted the Dutch interest on account of Jacob Rabbi's murder; nor could the banishment of the colonel, and confiscation of his goods, prevail on them to continue their friendship.

Several propositions being made for the annoyance of the enemy, the council deliberated upon them, and finding that they admitted of very material



terial objections, laid them aside: it had, among others, been suggested, that refusing quarters to the enemy might prove serviceable; a question that was also determined in the negative, because more likely to occasion a revolt of those who then remained quiet, than to answer the end proposed.

On the 30th of December, intelligence was received, that a party of two hundred men, under the command of one colonel Rebellia, was arrived in an island near Rio Francisco from the Bahia, and that a reinforcement was expected shortly, not only from thence, but also from the Vargea; at the same time advice was brought that some of the Dutch troops had attacked a body of the enemy, without any farther advantage than the seizure of their arms, and cloaths; however, shortly after, the enemy returned with a much stronger body, and put the Dutch to flight, one hundred and fifty were slain, among whom was one captain, and five subaltern officers were taken prisoners.

A fresh consultation being held concerning the assembling a large body of troops to undertake some action of consequence, and a draught of troops from Parayba being proposed for that purpose, the council thought such proceeding must lay them open to considerable danger; therefore the proposition was rejected; and from advice, shortly after received, it appeared a prudent resolution, for the enemy entering Parayba with a powerful party, threatened ruin upon that side, which they began by the slaughter of fifty Dutch and Brasilians, several of that number being women and children; however, finding the country in a more defensible state than was expected, they retreated from thence in a few days after they had entered it.

On the 22d of January, the enemy began to batter a wooden fort, near the Baretta, which, tho' inconsiderable in itself, and hardly worth defend-  
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ing, was, by the advice of Mr. Hamel, reinforced with five companies, and in hope that the enemy finding the reduction of this fort difficult, might thereby be intimidated from undertaking any thing farther on that side : in consequence of a vigorous defence, the siege was raised January the 24th, the repulse being esteemed the more happy by the Dutch, as they at that time laboured under many terrible inconveniences, and among the rest a desertion, which going beyond private men, reached to the officers.

The Receif being closely blocked up on the land side, by the enemy, a scheme was laid to conquer it by treachery ; for which purpose a certain Portuguese invited all the principal commanders to a grand entertainment, he intended to give on account of his daughter's wedding, during which scene of merriment the enemy were to have surprised the city ; but this design being discovered by some Portuguese and Jews, was rendered abortive. However, the siege was carried on, and the town battered in such a dreadful manner, that the inhabitants were so terrified as to seek for shelter in caves, while the wounded, dying, and dead persons presented spectacles of horror on every side. Among many tragical incidents, one to which Mr. Nieuhoff was an eye-witness, claimed particular notice and pity ; that of a very beautiful young lady, admiral Lichthart's niece, being deprived of both her legs by a cannon bullet, which at the same time killed a friend of hers, a new married woman who stood by her. During this time colonel Schoppe had made himself master of Taperika, which he destroyed. However, the strength of the Dutch began to be so much diminished by many unsuccessful encounters, and there being no prospect of timely succours, a general attack was resolved upon ; which resolution was opposed by colonel Schoppe,



Schoppe, and several other officers; however, their opinion availed not, for a general sally was concluded on, the command of which was given to colonel Brink, as Schoppe's wounds, received in a late encounter, were not as yet cured.

The Dutch forces having marched out, attacked the enemy with great fury, and pressed them hard for some time; but they, flushed with success and their superior numbers, repulsed the Dutch, of whom in the fight and flight eleven hundred were slain, and among these colonel Brink and almost every other officer of note; there were also nineteen pair of colours lost, with all the cannon and ammunition the Dutch had brought into the field. This general defeat put an end to all contention in the field, and all remaining care was appropriated to the defence of the Receif, which, however, without supplies from Holland, could not be long maintained. To make disagreeable circumstances still worse, divisions arose among the members of the government, the great council ascribing the late defeat to the misconduct of the council of war; the members of which latter alledging, that the former were in fault, the soldiers being ill paid and ill provided: in short, the state of affairs looked so bad on every side, and wore so much the appearance of growing still worse, that Mr. Nieuhoff solicited a passport for his return to Holland, and with a good deal of difficulty obtained it, which he had no sooner done than he prepared every thing necessary for his voyage home.

Having thus run thro' the proposed recapitulation of the material transactions during Mr. Nieuhoff's residence in Brasil, it will not be amiss, before we proceed with him on his voyage, to give a general view of the inhabitants, animals, and various products of that country.

## C H A P. X.

*Of the division and different classes of the inhabitants of Brasil: desperate action of a negroe: the political cruelty of the Portuguese while possessed of this country: the manners of the people in general: their arms; their notions of the Supreme Being; their knowledge of futurity, &c. of their skill in sorcery; their usage of the sick, and respect to the dead: the Tapoyers described: two of them engage and conquer a bull.*

THE inhabitants of Brasil, properly divided, were formed into two classes, viz. free-born subjects, and slaves: the free inhabitants were made up of Dutch, Portuguese, and Brasilians; of these the Portuguese were much the most numerous, and the richest: the Dutch merchants, selling their goods at a vast profit, would no doubt have acquired large fortunes, had they not sold upon credit to the Portuguese, who, as it appears from what has been already related, were resolved never to pay them.

Among those free inhabitants of the Dutch Brasil, who were not in the company's service, certain Jews claimed the foremost place, as they carried on a more extensive trade than any other set of people, insomuch that they purchased several sugar-mills, and raised stately edifices for their own habitations in the Receif: these people would no doubt have been a great strengthening to Dutch Brasil had they kept their traffick within reasonable bounds.

The slaves were partly negroes, and partly natives, the latter being either prisoners of war bought in Maranhon; or in the country of the Tapoyers, where the custom was either to sell the



captives as slaves, or put them to death; all other Brasilians enjoying under the Dutch government the sweets of perfect liberty.

In the time of Nieuhoff there were near forty thousand negroes employed in the sugar-mills, between Rio Grande and St. Francisco, most of which were brought from the kingdoms of Congo, Angola, and Guinea: they had a black shining skin, flat noses, thick lips, and short curled hair, those being their marks of beauty. The price of these negroes rose and fell according to the circumstance of things; when trade flourished one of them would sell for seventy, eighty, or a hundred pieces of eight, sometimes the price stretched to fourteen or fifteen hundred gilders for such as appeared to be more intelligent, and more capable of service than the general run: but, when trade fell into decay, forty pieces of eight was esteemed a considerable price.

These negroes are very dextrous at swimming and diving, the latter of which they are so amazingly expert at, that they will bring up a piece of eight from the bottom in deep water; they are also good fishermen, and earn a considerable deal of money that way. Mr. Nieuhoff observes, that while he was in Brasil, a certain negro, very famous at fishing, being sold three several times, took such treatment so ill, that one day when he went out to sea, he tied a stone to one of his legs, and so leaping into the water, drowned himself.

The negroes, as has been found on many occasions, are of a very vindictive nature, and will run any length to revenge ill usage. Some of them, when old, have long grey beards, and hair of the same colour.

The natives of Brasil were divided into four several nations; three of which spoke the same language, differing only in dialect: but the fourth, named

named the Tapoyers, were subdivided into several districts, all which differed both in language and manners.

Those Brafilians who resided among the Dutch and Portuguese, were middle-sized, of a strong robust make, with black eyes, wide mouths, black curled hair, and flat noses, which latter circumstance is here deemed so great a beauty, that parents squeeze their childrens noses flat while they are young. They paint their bodies with various colours: their women are likewise of a middle stature, well-proportioned, and not ill-featured; they have black hair, but are not born black; however, the excessive heat of the sun gives them a tawny colour. The Brafilians arrive early at maturity, and live to great ages, which must be in some measure owing to the climate, as several Europeans who dwell there live to an hundred or an hundred and twenty years. There are very few cripples or deformed people to be met among the Brafilians, a circumstance which can be only thus accounted for: they never swathe any part of their children but the feet.

Before the Dutch got footing in Brasil, the natives were absolutely enslaved by the Portuguese, who looked upon the extirpation of them as a master-piece of policy; a design they put so effectually in execution, that the captainship of Rio Grande, which in the year 1545, could have turned out one hundred thousand fighting-men, in 1645 could hardly produce more than three hundred. The cruelty of these task-masters occasioned mortal hatred between the Portuguese and them, tho' it is to be observed, that this extraordinary decrease of the latter was in part owing to war, and some epidemical distempers which broke out among them: the small remainder of them live in villages assigned them, where they had their plantations, their dwelling-places being made up of wood-work, covered



with palm-tree leaves. The Brasilians in general had among them a great spirit of liberty, especially the Tapoyers: they live among each other in tolerable harmony, except when drunkenness, their chief vice, occasions some irregularities. They are very fond of dancing, naturally very indolent, and will sleep twenty-four hours together; nor would they stir then if different calls of nature did not rouse them: they keep fires in their huts night and day, by day to prepare their victuals, and by night to fend off the cold air, which is keener among them than in most parts of Europe, because the days and nights are here of an equal length, almost thro' the whole year.

The inland Brasilians of both sexes go quite naked; but nearer the sea-shore they wear different sorts of covering; some wear only shirts of linen or callico; others, being more polite, chuse to dress in the European manner. The wives always follow their husbands, even to war: the man carries nothing but his arms, the woman supplying the place of a sumpter-horse; for she carries not only provisions, but such furniture as is judged necessary, a child, or children, also a parrot or an ape in one hand, and a dog with a string in the other. The hedges or open fields are their only places of accommodation; and friendly streams their only supply of drink, except what they get sometimes in the hollow of a tree, called karrageata. Towards night they always hang their hammocks on trees, or else fasten them to poles, and make a sort of defence from the rain, with palm-tree leaves. When at home, the husband generally goes abroad in the morning with his bow and arrows to kill some birds or beasts, or goes to fish, while the wife either employs her time in working at the plantation, or attends her husband to carry what game he may kill. The wild beasts are caught and killed in various

rious manners, some by arrows, others by pitfalls, &c. &c.

The Brasilians are not much burdened with furniture; their hammocks or *ini*, as they call them, are the chief part of it; these are made of cotton, like net-work, six or seven feet long, and four broad: the Tapoyers make their hammocks twelve or fourteen feet long, so as to contain four or six persons; their cans, cups and mugs are made of calabashes, one of which holds thirty or thirty-five quarts, but they generally divide them. The poorer sort make stones into the shape of knives, but the better sort use real ones, purchased from the Europeans.

The arms of the Brasilians were only bows, arrows, and clubs; their bows are made of a very hard wood, called *virapariba*; the strings are made of twisted cotton, and their darts are made of wild cane with the points hardened, or armed with fish teeth, called *jacru*: some have several points, others but one.

They reckon up their age by laying by a chestnut for every year, and they begin the computation of their years with the rise of a certain star called *Taku*, or the Rain Star, which appears in the month of May; they also call the year by the same name. Some of the inland Brasilians scarce know any thing of religion, or a Supreme Being: they have a slight knowledge of the general deluge, and believe that the whole race of mankind were extirpated thereby, except one man and his sister, which latter was pregnant before the deluge, and these by degrees repeopled the world. That they have no notion of a God is evinced by their not having any term for such a being, unless the word *Tuba*, which signifies somewhat most excellent. The thunder they stile *tubakununga*, which may be interpreted, a noise made by the supreme excellency: they are unacquainted with any particular state of



futurity, but have a tradition among them, that the souls do not die with the bodies, but are translated to pleasant regions and vales, placed, as they say, behind mountains, where they are to enjoy great pleasure, as dancing, singing, &c. this state of felicity is however confined to such brave men and women as have, during their lives, done meritorious actions; such as killing and devouring many of their enemies: but such as have been idle are supposed to be tortured by devils, whom they distinguish by various names.

Tho' so ignorant of any form of religion, or particular object of worship, they have persons among them whom they call paye or priests, who are used as prophetic instructors, and carefully consulted in all material transactions, especially those of war. They are so horridly afraid of spirits, to which they give many different names, that some have been killed by the shock of an imaginary apparition; however, they do not pay any devotion to the supposed spirits, except now and then that particular persons pretend to appease their wrath by certain presents fastened to stakes set in the ground for that purpose. A nation among the Brasilians called Potiguaras, are accounted so well skilled in sorcery, that they can bewitch their enemies even to death.

Those Brasilians who lived among the Dutch and Portuguese, did in some measure follow the dictates of Christianity, but seldom shewed any zeal for them unless such as were instructed in their tender years; some Dutch ministers and Portuguese priests were tolerably successful in making converts, and several of the natives were brought to read and write by the Dutch schoolmasters.

Many distempers common in Europe are entirely unknown in Brasil: such as are natural to their climate, and arise from their manner of living, they  
cure

cure with simple medicines, holding all compounds in utter contempt; they take great pains to cure sickness, but if, after a certain process, the patient continues ill, he is to be knocked on the head, for they deem it better to die at once, than linger in pain to the last gasp of natural decay; when dead, they exercise the same cruelty on the remains of their friends, as they do upon their foes, tho' from a different motive; for they tear them to pieces, and eat them with keen appetites.

Brasilian women are vastly fruitful, and have very easy labours, in so much, that a woman, immediately after delivery, goes to the next river and there purifies herself; while the husband goes to bed, and, for the first twenty-four hours, is nursed with all the care and ceremony used with a lying-in woman among Europeans: mothers lament the death of their children in excessive howling for three or four days; and when friends have been long parted, they meet with open arms, tears, and all possible marks of affection; the Brasilians, tho' said to be hereditary men eaters, by mingling with the Dutch and Portuguese, have for the most part laid aside that branch of barbarity; becoming as affable and humane as some European notions.

The Tapoyers are of much larger stature, and greater strength of body than the other Brasilians: they are of a dark brown colour, with black hair, which hangs down over their shoulders, being only shaved on the forehead parallel to the ears; the rest of their bodies they keep clear of hair, even their eye-brows are plucked; their kings and chiefs are distinguished from the vulgar, by their hair and quality; they are great admirers of long nails.

Royalty is distinguished by hair cut into the form of a crown, and long thumb-nails, which latter is an ornament entirely appropriated to the



kings; the princes of the blood and grandees being allowed long nails on their fingers, but none on their thumbs.

These people having great strength and agility, prince Maurice ordered two of them to attack a wild bull, which they did accordingly, and, after having galled him a good deal with arrows, one of them leaping on his back, seized him by the horns, and threw him down; upon which, being seconded by his comrade, the beast was killed; when they roasted him under ground, with a fire above him as their custom is, and then feasted not only themselves, but several other Tapoyers, who were present at the combat as spectators.

The Tapoyers of both sexes, and all ranks from the king to the peasant, go quite naked to the privities, which they very carefully conceal; the men wear a kind of ornament on their heads, made of the feathers of a bird called guara, from which some long tail feathers of the bird arara hang down on their shoulders behind: sometimes they only tie a string of cotton round their heads, in which they stick party-coloured feathers; they have also cloaks made of cotton thread, framed like a net, and ornamented with feathers of different birds and colours; which lie together almost like fish scales: on the inside of these cloaks, there is a kind of cap or hood to cover the heads; so that all together, they cloath the wearer almost from the knees upwards: but these may properly be called holliday suits; tho' sometimes they wear them to fend off rain, which purpose they answer tolerably well.

Upon the death of a father or mother, the Tapoyers tear all their hair off their heads: they have holes in their ears, lips, and cheeks, from which are hung pieces of wood, or certain ornamental stones; their bodies are painted all over with brown-coloured juice, squeezed from the apple  
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janipapa; besides which, with mastick or wild honey, they stick feathers of all colours upon their bodies, so that, at some distance, they resemble large birds: they wear round their legs also certain bracelets made of the fruit of aguay, and shoes made of the bark kuragua. Some of the Tapoyers have no bows and arrows, but throw darts; their clubs are made of very hard wood, broad at the top and full of very sharp teeth or bones; they have three sorts of wind instruments, one of human bones, another of horn, and a third of cane. The Tapoyers are not esteemed so good soldiers as the other Brasilians, as, in the time of danger, they are much more inclined to exert agility than strength, and indeed they run with such astonishing swiftness, that 'tis hard to overtake them; they are peculiarly indolent, for rather than take any trouble of cultivation, they live upon the wild products of nature: they eat human flesh; and, 'tis remarkable, that if a woman miscarries, she immediately eats the child, alledging it cannot have a better grave than the belly from whence it came.

The Tapoyers, like the Arabians, lead a vagrant life, with this difference, that they keep within particular bounds, changing their habitations according to the different seasons of the year: they are great sportsmen, and use their arrows so expertly as to bring down birds flying when ever they please.

When a woman has conceived, she abstains from her husband till after her delivery; nor is it usual to cohabit while she gives suck: if a married woman is known to have unlawful commerce with another man, her husband may turn her away; but if he catches them in the act of adultery, he may kill them both. There are some other customs in regard to women before marriage, the relation



of which, tho' it might satisfy curiosity, must offend modesty, therefore we think it better to pass on at once from the inhabitants of Brasil, to the animals, and other matters which may be worth observation.

## C H A P. XI.

*Of the various kinds of birds, beasts, &c. to be found in Brasil.*

**T**HE first animal peculiar to Brasil, which comes in view, is the iron pig, called by the Brasilians kuandu; it is about the size of an ape, its body being entirely covered with spikes of three or four fingers length, instead of hair; which spikes, upon being irritated, this animal can dart forth as a porcupine does its quills, so as to wound, nay often kill a man: its eyes are round, staring, and like carbuncles in colour; it has long whiskers like a cat, feet resembling an ape, but with four fingers only, the place for the thumb being vacant; and its fore legs are less than the hinder ones. This creature usually sleeps by day, and goes in search of prey by night, loves fowl vastly, and climbs up trees, tho' slowly; the flesh of this creature, which is of no disagreeable flavour, the inhabitants eat roasted.

The sluggart, so called from its lazy pace, which cannot in fifteen days make the extent of a stones throw, is about the size of a fox, its fore legs being about seven fingers long to the feet; the hinder ones but six; the head round; its mouth, which bears a constant foam, small and round; its teeth little and blunt; its nose black, high, and smooth; the eyes small, black, and heavy; its body is covered over with ash-coloured hair. The reason  
of

of its remarkable slowness, is because the limbs are as it were disjointed in the middle. It dwells upon trees, and lives upon their leaves, without ever tasting any drink; and is so much afraid of rain, that upon the approach thereof, it hides itself. Tho' the limbs of this animal are weak, yet its claws will take such an hold as is not easily unloosed; the noise it makes, as well as that of the iron pig, is somewhat like the mewling of a cat.

Of the pismire eaters, named so from their food, there are two sorts, the great and the small; the former, which is about the bigness of a middling dog, has a round head, long snout, and no teeth. To catch the pismires, this animal lays its tongue, which is twenty-five, sometimes thirty inches long, upon a dunghill, till his prey settle upon it, which they have no sooner done, than he swallows them. The small one is about the bigness of a Brazilian fox; on the fore feet it has four crooked claws; two broad black lists run along the back; it is a very savage creature, grasps every thing with its paws, and upon being struck with a stick, will sit upright like a bear, and take hold of it with its mouth: it sleeps all day long with its head from its fore paws under its neck, the night being the time for it to prey; when it drinks, the water immediately spouts thro' its nostrils.

The creature called the shield hog, or armadilla, because it is covered with scales like a shield, resembles our hogs in bigness and shape: it has on the back seven partitions, between each of which, appears a dark brown skin; the head is perfectly like that of other hogs, and its nose sharp, with which it grubs up earth; its eyes are small, and lie deep in the head; it has a small sharp tongue, and short dark brown ears, without hair or scales; the belly, the breast, and legs, are likewise without scales: this animal is generally very fat, it lives upon roots, and all



kinds of carrion, drinks a vast deal ; and, tho' on land is its residence, yet it chiefly loves marshy places : it is caught by sending a small dog after it, who barks and gives notice where it has sheltered itself under ground, when, by digging, it is found ; the flesh is good to eat.

In Brasil, there is a kind of batts, the size of a crow, which are very fierce and bite violently, with very sharp teeth ; they build in hollow trees, and old walls ; there are also in that country, a kind of wild geese, much like those in Europe, only somewhat larger, and their feathers vary more in colour ; they are water birds, and generally prove both fleshy and well tasted.

The bill bird, is about the size of a wood pigeon ; it has a saffron coloured crop about the neck, of three or four fingers in compass ; its feathers, which are yellow on the breast, and black on all other parts, are tipped with red ; its bill is the length of the palm of a hand, and very deep ; it is yellow without, and red within, being rendered managable by its lightness.

The Brasilians have a bird among them called kiokoi, which appears to be a kind of crane, is about the size of our storks, and very pleasing to sight. Its bill, which is of a greenish yellow, measures about six fingers in length, is straight and sharp ; the neck is fifteen fingers long, the body ten, and the tail five ; its legs, which measure about fourteen fingers in length, are covered about half way with feathers, the neck and throat are white, the head black, mixed with ash colour ; on the undermost part of the neck, there are long white feathers fit for a plume ; the flesh of this bird is good and of an agreeable flavour ; there is a smaller kind of these birds, about the size of a duck, the flesh of which is also eatable, and somewhat like that of a crane.

The barn bird is peculiarly odd in its appearance, having a bill near seven feet and a half long, and a crown of green and white feathers upon its head; one half of which, as well as one half the neck, has no feathers: it is about the size of a stork, and proves tolerable food when skinned and boiled.

Brazil produces many more sorts of wild fowl, which vary but little from those in Europe, one small bird excepted, namely the humming bird; which, tho' but as big as one joint of a finger, makes a very loud noise, and has feathers of so variable a hue, that turn the bird which way you please, it shews of a different colour; wherefore the Brazilian women make one at each ear supply the place of pendants.

The rivers and lakes, as well as the sea coast of Brazil, are extremely well stocked with variety of fish; there are also in this country several sorts of serpents, among the number of which, we find one called gekko, from its constant cry; the sting of this creature proves mortal, unless the part wounded is cut away, or burned with a red hot iron; the blood is of so poisonous a nature, that the javanese, for gekkos are plenty in the isle of Java, dip their arrows in it to render them more mortal; and frequently tie one of these animals by a string to the ceiling, that, by irritation, they may cause it to vomit forth a yellowish liquor, which they catch in pots, and then coagulate in the sun; the poisonous quality of this creature is particularly evinced by the dreadful effects from an outward application of its urine, which, upon touching the skin, causes a blackness and a gangrene; the curcuma-root, which we call turmeric, is deemed by the Brazilians the most powerful remedy for this poison.

The rattle-snake, so named from a noise which its tail makes, moves with swiftness almost equal to flight; the middle of its body is about the thick-



ness of a man's arm at the elbow, and tapers both towards the head and tail; it is of a very poisonous nature: however, as it may be heard at a considerable distance, there is no great danger. The chief remedy used by the Brasilians against the venom of this and most other serpents, is a plaister made from serpent's heads bruised and mixed with fasting spittle.

The guaku or liboya is a serpent of monstrous size, some of them being eighteen, twenty-four, nay thirty feet long, and about the thickness of a man; by the Portuguese, it is called the roe-buck serpent, because they frequently swallow deers of that kind, or indeed of any other that come in their way; it is not so venomous as other serpents, and the flesh is by some deemed eatable; it is a very voracious serpent, and will leap out of the hedges upon men or beasts. Besides those which we have already mentioned, there are many other kinds of serpents mostly venomous, and differing only in point of size or colour.

The senembi or land crocodile is a creature frequently met in Brasil, seldom exceeding five feet in length; it can live two or three months without food, and affords flesh as eatable and as white as a rabbit; in its head are found certain stones, which, given by two drams at a time, prove an infallible remedy for the gravel.

There are lizards and scorpions in Brasil, the former of which are sometimes four feet in length; these, the negroes eat with safety, tho' when alive their sting is venomous; as is also that of the scorpions, which in this country grow to a very large size. There are also many sorts of pismires here, for the most part of a very different nature and construction from those in Europe, being vastly larger and more destructive to the fruits  
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of the earth. Various kinds of bees are to be met with in Brasil, which serve the same purpose as ours, that of making honey, tho' with this difference, that they are not made, as amongst us, domestic insects, by being kept in hives; but fix their residence in hollow trees, from whence the effect of their industry is extracted by different methods.

Among other sorts of spiders, there is one of a remarkable large size, generally found in dung-hills or the cavities of hollow trees, which weave cobwebs like other spiders; if provoked, they wound with a sting so small, as to be scarcely visible, yet so venomous, that it raises a blueish swelling, which is very painful, and dangerous even to death, if not prevented by a timely antidote.

Brasil produces plenty of wild beasts, among the rest leopards and tygers; the latter extremely fierce, in so much that they frequently devour men as well as beasts: there is also another savage creature, called jack over sea, amazingly nimble, and peculiarly furious, tearing, without distinction, every thing weaker than itself, to pieces.

Having thus given a general view of those animals which are peculiar to Brasil, it will not be amiss to take notice of some roots and trees produced there. The shrub Mandioka, to which the Brasilians are indebted for great part of their sustenance, claims attention first: the shrub itself is mostly called maniiba or mandiiba; there are several kinds, but the root is always named mandioka, which root dried, powdered, and afterwards baked in the manner of European bread, serves as the common food of the inhabitants of America: this root somewhat resembles our parsnip; it will only grow in dry soil, and is, when ripe, about two or three feet in length, and the thickness of a man's arm; each shrub will produce three, four, and sometimes twenty roots, which roots will not  
keep



keep above three days out of the ground, wherefore they are always dried and converted into meal; the root mandioka, being pressed, yields a certain juice which furnishes a sediment that serves instead of paste, and mixed with sugar-rice and orange flower-water, makes a very agreeable conserve: there are several other methods of preparing this root for use, which, however, as they tend to the same purpose, we shall not particularize; there is one great peculiarity appertaining to the mandioka, which is, that eaten fresh, it proves a mortal poison to the human species, tho' roasted, it is not of the least ill consequence; and it is also a worthy remark, that tho' all kinds of beasts will eat and grow fat upon this root, yet the juice of it proves pernicious to them as well as to men. About three bushels of the meal made of these roots, is deemed sufficient to serve a hard working man for a month; and a piece of ground planted with them, will produce four times the quantity that the same space would do, if sown with wheat.

The sensitive plant is also found in Brasil, and the fruit called calabashes, the rinds of which are so thick, that when dried they will supply the places of cups, poringers, &c. and what may be deemed surprizing is, that they vary greatly in shape, some being round, and others long; the trees blossom and bear a fruit once a month, which is tolerably agreeable to the taste, but being too restraining, proves very unwholesome.

There is a tree which the Brasilians call imakaru, that having no peculiar or remarkable quality, we only mention by name, and proceed to observe another named pako kaatinga, which much resembles cane in its appearance, and bears a fruit on the top of its stem, not unlike a pine apple;

apple; the stalk being chewed, draws rheum from the head, and dissolves the stone in the bladder.

All over Brasil, but chiefly in the isle of Hamarika, grows a tree called katjou, which bears two different sorts of blossom and fruit; the white blossoms produce a soft spungy kind of apple, from whence the Brasilians make a sort of sîder, which, seasoned with sugar, has much the relish of Rhenish wine, and is a very heady liquor, tho' not unwholesome, as it passes off quickly.

Chili lada, or Brasil pepper, grows on knotty stalks of about five or six feet high; the rind, which is dark green, is divided by white rings, from whence shoot forth small branches of about four inches in length, which bear small white flowers, and these produce the pepper seed.

The sugar canes, called by the Brasilians viba, are of two sorts, the one being distinguished by small, the other by large leaves; the latter, which is esteemed the best, sprouts up a long stem about the thickness of a child's arm: these canes are propagated by planting small slips, which, if they are put into a good soil and kept free from weeds, will in six months produce a brown seed at the top; and then they are fit to be cut; if they stand longer, their juice diminishes and turns sour: low grounds are much better for sugar canes than hills, and they thrive particularly where the soil in which they are planted is frequently overflowed by some adjacent river. The sugar produced from these canes, is not extracted without much labour, but being a most profitable commodity, well repays the labourers toil; Dutch Brasil, is computed to yield two hundred or two hundred and fifty thousand chests annually.



## C H A P. XII.

*Nieuhoff's account of Brasil concluded.*

**B**RASIL wood, well known in Europe, from its utility in dying, is cut from trees of two or three fathom thick; there is nothing very remarkable in these trees, but as they constitute part of the trade of the country, they deserve to be mentioned, as does also the tree named timbo, which, on account of its flexible nature, is converted into hoops, at the same time that its bark supplies the place of hemp.

Among many sorts of palm trees to be found in Brasil, that named pindava claims the preference as fairest and most beautiful; there is another sort, called by the Portuguese tamar or date, from its bearing a fruit similar to that of the date tree: neither the fruit or timber of this tree is any thing considerable; and the pindava is for little more than ornament; however, instead of bark, it is covered with a white rough excrescence, which contains a sulphureous substance that the Brasilians, by preparation, convert into a strong lee, and bears a sort of fruit which is eatable.

There are a great number of coco trees in Brasil, which generally rise very crooked, grow to the thickness of fourteen or fifteen feet, and reach fifty feet in height; it is worthy remark, that these trees have no branches, but, instead thereof, have fifteen or sixteen leaves round their tops, which stretch to the enormous length of fifteen or sixteen feet.

Having thus sketched out a general view of the animal and vegetable products of Brasil, we shall now return to Mr. Nieuhoff, whom we left prepared for his return to Holland, in pursuance of which,

which, July the 23d, 1649, he embarked on board the Union, captain Albert Jantz, and reached, without any material intervening occurrence, the island of Corfu, which is one of the nine islands called by the Dutch, Flemming islands; the largest of which, named Tercera, is about sixteen leagues in circumference; it is fruitful, tho' rocky, and maintains a considerable quantity of oxen; there is a spring in it of so petrifying a quality, that it turns wood into stone; besides which, there are several springs so hot, that they are capable of boiling eggs; this island is very liable to earthquakes.

From the isle Corfu, Mr. Nieuhoff proceeded forward on his voyage, and reached Flussingen safely, September the 19th, where he passed five days of refreshment, and then continued his journey to his native country, where he had, to recompence the dangers and fatigues of his voyage to Brasil, the unspeakable comfort of meeting his parents and many friends in good health.

As many disputes arose concerning the loss of Dutch Brasil, some malecontents charging it to the mismanagement, or, indeed, treachery of the great council, when messieurs Hamel Bullaestrete, and Bas, were members thereof, an enquiry into the circumstances of that affair may prove satisfactory; by exculpating those unjustly charged with guilt, and fixing the censure where it ought to lie.

Among many reasons assigned for the revolt of the Portuguese, that of recovering their liberty seems to be the principal, as indeed it is the most natural; where language, manners, and, above all, religion, to which the Portuguese are remarkable bigots, differ so widely, it is not to be wondered, there should be secret antipathies, which antipathies excite the people to destroy the causes of them; add to this, the weakness of Dutch Brasil,  
which



which alone was enough to create a spirit of revolt ; so that, upon a strict examination, it will be found that the great council were more deficient in power than wisdom, integrity, or diligence. It is a first principle in policy, that a conquered country must be maintained by military power, unless the Portuguese and Spanish method of extirpating the natives, by massacre, is thought preferable ; how then was it possible to defend Dutch Brasil against a multitude of bosom foes, when the garrisons were not sufficient for keeping in awe the malecontents of a settled government, much less those of a conquered country, where there were not only enslaved natives, but also vast numbers of a rival nation, who viewed the government with jealous eyes, and watched for opportunities of disturbing the public tranquillity.

On the conquest of Brasil by the Dutch, the Portuguese were left in quiet possession of their sugar mills and plantations, by which the Dutch were prevented from getting such footing in the country as they might have done ; there were also such heavy taxes imposed, that the Dutch subjects being poorer than the Portuguese, could not bear them ; whereas, had there been true policy exerted, such immunities should have been granted as would have put the Dutch upon as respectable, if not a preferable footing to the Portuguese ; besides, the military establishment was so very ill supported, that tho' count Maurice, in the year 1641, produced an estimate, which proved the necessity of maintaining at least seven thousand men to defend the garrisoned places in that country, the states of Holland, after the conclusion of a ten years truce with Portugal, would allow no more than two thousand seven hundred.

And tho' repeated remonstrances were made against so impolitic a reduction, yet the states resolved

solved upon it; and when intestine commotions, spirited by foreign assistance, threw affairs into a most deplorable situation, such trifling and tedious succours were sent from Holland, that things grew worse and worse every day, till, by the year 1754, all the fortified places fell into the hands of the Portuguese, which, by the peace concluded in 1660, they were confirmed in the possession of; at which time, among other articles, the three following were stipulated.

First, that in lieu of Dutch Brasil, the Portuguese should pay the Dutch eighty tuns of gold, or the value thereof in commodities, or by a mortgage on the Portuguese customs: secondly, that the places on each side should remain in the quiet possession of those in whose hands they were at that time: and lastly, that a free trade should be allowed to the Dutch in Portugal, Africa, and Brasil, without being liable to any duties, but such as were imposed on the native Portuguese.

Mr.





# Mr. JOHN NIEUHOFF'S VOYAGE to the EAST-INDIES.

## CH A P. I.

*Mr. Nieuhoff embarks for the East-Indies; arrives at the islands of St. Vincent and St. Anthony: some account of these places; also of the soil, productions, and inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope; together with its beasts, birds, and fishes: of the vast stupidity of the natives: their marriage ceremonies: our author goes to Java, thence to China, and returns to Europe.*

**A**UGUST the 23d, 1653, Mr. Nieuhoff embarked at Amsterdam for the East Indies, on board the *Calf*, Cornelius Just master.

October the 10th, they came in view of the island of St. Vincent, in the bay of which they came to anchor about noon, and provided themselves with fresh water and goats, as well as with plenty of oranges, lemons, pumpkins, and other sorts of fruit, which they purchased at very trifling rates.

St. Vincent is one of the salt islands; it is about five leagues in circumference, and subject to the Portuguese. The inhabitants, who live in a most miserable manner, have no women among them, are negroes sent thither from several neighbouring colonies to catch wild goats, the skins of which they send to Portugal, where they sell to advantage.

Another

Another of these islands is called St. Anthony, and abounds with fruits of all sorts, as well as plenty of wild fowl. They sailed from this place on the 26th, and on the 9th of March got into the Table bay, in the Cape of Good Hope, about noon, the wind blowing briskly from the south-west: it was well they arrived here so soon, on account of the plenty of medicines and refreshments of all sorts, for which the Cape of Good Hope is remarkable, above forty of their men lying sick, besides eight that they had lost upon the voyage. The fields about the Cape, a little way up the country, are covered with lillies and tulips. Things in general are extremely dear here, arrack selling for six-pence a quartern, brandy for a shilling, and a sizeable water melon at no less than half a crown. The Hottentots, who are sometimes very shy of trafficking with strangers, exchange their cattle for tobacco-pipes, bits of copper, and other toys.

Olives, apricots, oranges, and peaches thrive here very well: the air in general is wholesome, temperate and clear; and tho' they have some ice in June and July, which is their winter, yet it never comes to any great thickness.

The woods are full of partridges, pheasants, geese, quails, crows, ducks, teal, water-snipes, wild peacocks, hawks, ravens, magpies, sparrows, black and white cranes, and ostriches of a prodigious size; they are grey, and never fly, but expand their wings when they run, which they do as fast as a horse in full speed.

The oxen here are fat, and some that have no horns are above a foot and a half higher than any to be found in Europe.

The sea-cow is found in great plenty upon the coast; it is as large as a heifer, without hair or horns, having a short tail and thick legs like an elephant:



elephant: its eyes are round, its ears long, and its teeth very large; the flesh of it will keep when salted, and eats something like coarse Dutch beef.

The iron pig, which is a native of the Cape, is a very curious sort of animal: its skin is stuck round with spikes, which; by contracting, it can shoot out against its enemies; and a dead lion was once found in the woods with one of these spikes struck thro' him, which was undoubtedly the cause of his death.

The sheep of the Cape have no wool, but are covered with hair like goats; and their tails, which are a lump of fat, often weigh above twenty pounds.

The jackall is said to be one of the most quick-scented animals in the world, and so very voracious that it will dig ten feet deep after a dead carcase: it is supposed often to supply the lion with prey.

The inland country is full of tygers, lions, wolves, leopards, rhinoceroes, and a creature not unlike an elephant; but there being a reward offered for the head of every wild beast that is brought to the Dutch governor, there are few now to be found on the sea-shore.

Whales are sometimes found in the Table bay; but they are very lean; and among their fishes, to most of the species of which we are strangers, is the foal, the Hottentot fish, something like a cod; and the torpedo, or cramp-fish, so called from its communicating that disorder to those whom it chances to touch while it is alive.

We have observed elsewhere, that the natives of the Cape, who are called Hottentots from their stammering, are the nastiest people in the world; and the mothers always cut out the right testicle of the male child as soon as 'tis born, in order to make him the swifter of foot. They are  
for

for the most part so very stupid, that if you shut them up in a house, with the windows close, and the door latched, they will have no notion of effecting an escape, being in this respect inferior to beasts, which generally endeavour to free themselves from bondage. Their attachment to their own country is surprising; for it has been known that a Hottentot, after his return from Europe, where he has lived for many years, has rejected his manners with his cloaths, and returned to his foot and his garbage.

The maids are distinguished from the married women, by having green twigs tied about their legs; and these on the wedding-day are removed for dried guts.

When a girl is married to a man, the first joint of her little finger is cut off and buried, after having been some time tied to her husband's middle finger.

They are divided into many different nations, the most cunning of which are those which inhabit near the cape: they have no fixed habitation, but wander about like the Tartars and Arabs, carrying with them their wives and children.

No place in the world is more subject to storms than the cape; but ships are sufficiently sheltered from their violence by the several commodious bays wherewith nature has provided it.

March the 13th, they quitted the cape, steering their course westward, and on the 24th of May anchored to the north-north-east of the isle of Java, where several boats came off to them with provisions and refreshments; they left this place on the 26th; and on the 30th, about four in the afternoon arrived off the city of Batavia, where our author went ashore, and was soon after sent in the train of an embassy from the governor of Batavia to China, in quality of a steward. Af-



ter his return from thence he made a voyage home in a ship called the Pearl, and arrived in Amsterdam on the 6th of July, 1658.

## CHAP. II.

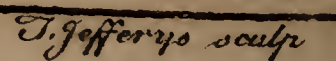
*Our author reembarks for Batavia, as a supercargo in the Dutch East India company's service; he is sent from thence to Amboina; that island's subjection, situation, commodities, but particularly the clove-tree described: he arrives at Malacca; a description of that city; it surrenders to the Portuguese, and is taken from them by the Dutch; its trade, commodities, inhabitants, &c. of the night people: the divisions of the kingdom of Malacca: long nails a mark of high birth: mistresses let out by the month, and very faithful: an account of the queen of Patan; her vast magnificence: the ship's crew in danger of being poisoned: the cook's roguery discovered: they arrive at Wingurla: the queen of Golconda visits Mahomet's tomb; her attendants described; her learning and reception by the Dutch factors at Wingurla: our author comes to the city of Gamron: water scarce here; heat intolerable: how to preserve ships from its intrusion.*

**D**Ecember the 22d, 1658, Mr. John Nieuhoff was ordered by the East India company to embark on board a ship called the Arnheim, of five hundred tons, carrying forty guns and four hundred and thirty men. They came to anchor before the city of Batavia, July the 18th, 1659, where Mr. Nieuhoff having delivered up his charge as supercargo, was ordered on board the Henrietta Louisa, bound for Amboina, some of the company's goods being delivered to his care.

Amboina









Amboina is by some counted one of the Molucca islands; it lies in three degrees of south latitude, twenty-four leagues from the isle of Banda; is about twenty-four leagues in circumference, and abounds with cloves, which were first planted there in the year 1636. The inhabitants are entirely devoted to the service of the East India company, and are divided into villages, each of which is obliged to furnish its annual quota of spice. The air of the island is but indifferent, and infects the body with a scrophulous disorder, not unlike the French pox, which is easily cured in the first stage, but is found very stubborn if allowed to proceed to any height.

Amboina is fertile in mullet, tobacco, coco, potatoes; oranges, lemons, citron, sugar, bamboes, &c. The nutmegs are not so good here as in the other islands: its most remarkable commodity is the clove, the tree of which has a pyramidical form, with a leaf like a laurel, growing on a long small stock, the stocks clustering together; and near the extremities of the branches they are of a purple colour. The clove blossom is at first white, then turns green, then red, and last of all, a dark yellow. They thrive best in dry weather, and the season of gathering them is from September to February. It is a vulgar error to say, that the cloves attract the moisture of the earth in such a manner that nothing will grow within its shade; for the barrenness of the ground round them is to be attributed to the great care of the owners, who grub up every thing near them, that the nourishment may not be carried away by any other channel.

Part of the island of Amboina is under the jurisdiction of the East India company, and part of it under that of the king of Tarnate.

There was a large crocodile killed, during our author's residence, at the port Victoria, which place



belongs to the Dutch: it had lived a great while in the ditch, destroying the governor's poultry, and once made an attack upon his secretary, who narrowly escaped with his life.

The inhabitants were formerly pagans and cannibals, but at present they are Mahometans and Christians. The men are brave, but deceitful, and very lazy, with thin beards and large whiskers. Their weapons are bows, arrows, half-pikes, javelins, scymitars, and a kind of poisoned arrow, the wound whereof is mortal, and these they blow thro' hollow pipes. They are dextrous in managing fire-arms, and have no covering but a piece of stuff wrapped round their buttocks and belly.

The women are extremely lascivious, and very fond of Europeans: if their gallants prove false, they are sure to poison them; but, as the dose that they administer produces a lingering death, she who gives it is generally possessed of an antidote which can avert its consequences. Our author left this place on the 3d of May, and arrived at Batavia on the 29th of the same month. He was soon after dispatched on a voyage to the Piscadore islands, from whence he went to the island of Teywan, which place he quitted on the 11th of December, and came on the 30th of the same month to the city of Malacca, the capital of a kingdom of the same name, which was formerly supposed to be joined to the island of Sumatra, by a small neck of land that is at present lost in the ocean. This city lies in two degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude; it is populous, large, and close-built, some of the houses being of stone, but most of them of strong bamboe-cane. The streets are broad and handsome, planted on each side with trees.

Malacca surrendered to the Portuguese, under the command of general Albuquerque in the year

1510,

1510, after an obstinate resistance, the king being obliged to fly to the woods, where he died. It was re-taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in the year 1640, after a siege of six months, and in it was found a vast booty.

It is a place of prodigious great trade, in gold, precious stones, and all the rarities of the east. The harbour is one of the finest in the Indies, and always crouded with ships from China, Japan, Siam, Bengal, Coromandel, Banda, Java, Sumatra, &c. The coin of this place was formerly only tin, being of great weight, but little value; but at present both gold and silver is current here, a piece of eight passing for two gilders and eleven stivers.

They weigh goods by the great and small bar; the great bar consists of two hundred kattees, each kattee being twenty-six tayls, of thirty-eight and a half Portuguese ounces, and each tayle one ounce and an half. A small bar contains two hundred kattees, each kattee weighing twenty-two tayls.

The natives of Malacca are tawny, with long black hair, large eyes, and flat noses; they go naked, except a piece of stuff wrapped about their middle. The women are extremely proud, very fond of gold bracelets and ear-rings, as well as of precious stones and fine silks.

There is a species of men in Malacca, who can see only in the dark, being blind all day, which they generally spend in sleeping, never rising till sunset. They are well proportioned, and in complexion something like the Europeans; their feet are bent inward, and their hair of a yellowish hue, is extremely long, that of the women hanging down to their hips.

The vast tract of land called Malacca or Malaya, is the most southern of all the East Indies, comprehending, besides many other kingdoms, those



of Pahorn, Pera, Queda, Jor, Ligoor, Tanassen, &c.

Jor is situated at the streights of Malacca, and abounds with lemons, ananas, bananas, citrons as large as a man's head, and other Indian fruits. Here is also great store of pepper, cinnamon, buffaloes, monkies, stags, and sea-monsters. The inhabitants are brave, but lascivious, proud, and lying, civil and deceitful: their complexions are light blue; their noses are crooked, and their teeth are black: they wear their nails extremely long, and paint them yellow; length of nails is among them a mark of quality. Their richer sort of people wear poinards set with precious stones; and Ratispont king of Jor, who came on board the Dutch fleet in 1608, had a poinard by his side set with sapphires and diamonds that were valued at fifty thousand gilders. He had three gold chains about his neck, which were also curiously adorned with precious stones.

In the kingdom of Pahan are found nutmegs, mace, pepper, hogs stones, which are a good antidote to expel poison, camphire, and eagle-wood, but, above all, gold and diamonds.

The capital city, which takes its name from the kingdom, is situated about a league from the sea-shore, and is inhabited only by the nobility, the poorer sort living in the suburbs. It is not large, and round it runs a wall four fathoms high, made of the trunks of trees joined one within the other very strongly and compactly. The king's palace is of wood; the other houses are of reed and straw: the streets are enclosed on each side with hedges of reeds, planted with coco; so that the place looks rather like a garden than a city.

The kingdom of Potany is temperate and fruitful, abounding with rice, and fruits of all sorts, as well as pepper. They plough their ground with oxen, and their woods are stocked with stags, wild

wild boars, which do a great deal of mischief, buffaloes, elephants, tygers, apes, and monkeys. They have also geese and ducks, and a species of turtle-doves, the feathers of which are finely variegated. The sea abounds with cray-fish, oysters, tortoise, &c, and in the hills are very valuable mines.

The natives of Potany are of an ash-coloured complexion, but well-shaped, proud, and ostentatious: they are however civil in conversation, and no great foldiers. They are extremely jealous; and tho' adultery is frequent among them, the women being extremely addicted to venery, yet it is punished with death when found out, the criminal's nearest relation, tho' it should be a father, being by the laws obliged to supply the place of the executioner; yet fornication is thought little of.

The nobility keep many female slaves, whom they let out to hire as paramours, at so much a month; and nothing is commoner than for a stranger to have his choice of young women, who will make a bargain to live with him during his stay amongst them, for certain wages. This woman, by day, does all the necessary household offices, and serves as a bed-fellow by night; but then a man must be careful to have no commerce with any other woman; and he may assuredly rely upon the fidelity of her whom he hires. The natives are, for the most part, lazy and idle, the traffic being entirely in the hands of the Chinese. The chief riches of the natives consists in lands and slaves, and the foreign merchants supply them with all sorts of rich commodities.

Their cloths come from Bengal; they have sandal-wood from Java, camphire, slaves, wax, and bezoar stones from Borneo; rice, salt, lead, and gold from Siam; porcelain, iron, copper, and all sorts of white and yellow silks from China, scymitars from Japan, &c.



From Patan the people of Lahor get rice, salt, fowl, and oxen: those of Malacca are thence also supplied with the bezoar-stone: to Borneo they send iron, steel, and copper; to China, pepper, camphire, sandal-wood, both white and yellow, skins, ivory, &c. and to Japan, tin, lead, silk, &c. The country is so populous as to be able to bring one hundred and eighty thousand armed men into the field. It is tributary to the king of Siam, and pays yearly some fine cloaths, velvets, scarlet-cloths, and a curious artificial flower, richly wrought with gold.

This kingdom was governed in the year 1602 by a woman, who tho' a widow, was then but fifteen years of age; her name was Pratie, and she kept in her court a vast number of ladies of honour, none of whom she permitted to marry, tho' she connived at their amorous intrigues. When she went abroad, which was very seldom, she had a cavalcade of two thousand noblemen, all dressed in the liveries of her deceased spouse.

Thirty leagues to the north of Malacca is an island called Dingding, with two good bays, wherein ships may have very safe anchorage.

This island is destitute of inhabitants, but has plenty of tortoises and oysters, many of which are seen to hang to the leaves of trees. Here are plenty of water-fowl, and a kind of bird, called by the Dutch shuies-bird, the head of which is without any feathers.

Our author staid upon this island four days; after which he coasted along in sight of the land of Sumatra.

In their voyage they had like to have been poisoned by eating a sea-bream, which appeared to the eye as a very fine fish; but were relieved by vomits and other medicines: two cats who had eat the bones of this fish died soon after; and the cook, who could not help licking his fingers, narrowly escaped

escaped with his life: tho' before he was taken ill, being accused on the appearance of short commons, of having secreted some part of the bream, he solemnly denied it.

This happened on the 14th of January, 1662: February the 3d they passed by Pontegarle, after having assisted admiral Vandermaeder in taking possession of the fortrefs of Palepatnam, which to their great surprise they found abandoned, and they continued their voyage.

March the 5th, they passed by the Bar of Goa, which was then blocked up by a Dutch fleet. On the 6th they came to anchor in the road of Wingurla, where they found the Bantam yachts waiting to transport the queen of Golconda from thence to Mocha, in her way to Medina, where she proposed visiting the tomb of Mahomet. Her guards, which had conducted her eighty leagues, consisted of four thousand cavalry, with long coats of mail, the shoulders whereof were embroidered with serpents heads, like the antient Romans; they had bright polished helmets, were armed with bows and arrows, wore long beards, and were mounted on very fine Persian horses.

On each side of every man of quality that attended her was a footman holding the bridle; the queen and all her ladies were carried in close litters, concealed from public view, and they were preceded by several camels covered with rich furniture, on one whereof was mounted a kettle-drummer who performed with great dexterity.

The Dutch commodore, and the director of the East India company met her two leagues from the town, in which, while she staid, she dictated to her secretaries in several different languages. There was a magnificent tent erected for her on the sea-shore, the passage from whence to the shallop, which was to carry her on board her yacht was covered



with calico. It was supposed the captain of the yacht became a mahometan; for he never returned from the voyage, the ship being brought back by the boatswain.

Wingurle lies in fifteen degrees of north latitude; it is a large village on the sea-shore of the kingdom of Golconda, where the Dutch East India company have a factory; and most ships bound to Persia are obliged to touch in their passage for wood and water.

From Wingurle our author proceeded to Gameron, a celebrated city of Persia, where he arrived on the 6th of April.

It is the only sea-port of Persia, lying on a flat sea-shore, in twenty-seven degrees of north latitude, just as you enter the Persian gulph; and close to it is a barren sandy mountain, which produces neither grass nor tree.

Gameron rose out of the ruins of the celebrated city of Ormus: it is defended by three stone bastions on each side, whereon are mounted many pieces of iron cannon. It is very weakly fortified on the land-side, as they fear no enemy from that quarter. The houses stand very close together, being each crowned with a very high turret, full of air-holes, wherein the inhabitants sleep in winter: they are built of square pieces of earth, dried in the sun, which soon become hard as stones; the outsides of these are whitened with lime, made of burnt muscle-shells. Their out houses are covered with palm-leaves, and are miserable huts.

The streets are short and narrow; and tho' the houses slope in such a manner that they almost all meet at top, they scarcely answer the purpose of excluding the heat, which is here excessive. The streets are not paved, but filled up with earth, which being continually watered to allay the dust and heat, becomes in time very hard.

The

The Dutch and English have each a factory in this place, distinguished by their respective flags, hoisted on the tops of their houses.

Water is very scarce here, it being brought by the slaves from a distance of three leagues every morning, and kept to cool in earthen vessels or sheep-skins.

The only tree produced hereabouts is the palm; but the inhabitants have plenty of Persian wine, of a sweet flavour, a high red colour, and pretty strong; they have also arrack distilled from coco and rice, and are fond of a sherbet, made of water, lemons, and sugar, which if taken in too great a quantity, is apt to give the bloody flux.

Strangers who will venture to reside here from March to October, a space during which the heat is excessive, must expect to be attacked with an ague, which they can hardly ever get rid of. Most people then either sleep upon leather or in their turrets, with the body immersed in water. Some of the richer sort of people employ their slaves in pouring rose-water down their necks.

Such ships as are obliged to stay in this port during the summer season, must be closely covered up with thick sails, otherwise the planks would run the hazard of splitting; for the pitch and tar boils up so hot upon deck that there is no venturing to walk bare-footed over it.

This excessive heat is in a great measure caused by the city being placed at the foot of a barren mountain, directly opposite to the south, a quarter from which the wind blows during the best part of the summer season, and the breezes, instead of refreshing, are stifling to man and beast.

All the inhabitants of Cameron are merchants, who have country-houses ten or twelve leagues from the city, most of them lying upon the banks of a rivulet, where, during the summer season, they



merrily spend the profits of the winter, leaving their town-houses to the care of their slaves until the month of October, when the foreign ships and merchants begin to arrive, and business encreases as the heat subsides.

### C H A P. III.

*The trade and commodities of the city of Gameron : how women of pleasure here are to be distinguished : of the manner of their feeding cattle ; their fish, and fowl, &c. the sepulchre of a Banyan saint much frequented : of the various sects of bramins, and their extraordinary kinds of spontaneous penance ; of the veneration in which they are held, more particularly by the women : of the danger to which the governor of Gameron is annually exposed ; of their foot-posts : of the islands of Queixome, Kesam, Sarek, and Ormus ; the last of these islands more particularly treated of : of the antiquity, trade, former magnificence and present ruinous condition of the city of Ormus : of the salt springs and medicinal well of Ormus : of the sinking-wood : a conjecture relating to the island of Ormus having formerly been on fire for seven years : the power of the kings of Ormus how overthrown.*

**T**HERE are caravans, consisting of many thousand camels, dromedaries, and asses, loaden with all sorts of rich goods, from Babylon, Turkey, and Persia, brought in here annually to be exchanged for East Indian wares.

The staple commodities of Gameron are cloth of gold, tapestries, pearls, Persian wine, the best rose-water, and fruits of all sorts, as plums, raisins, currants, nuts, dates, oranges, citrons, pomegranates, peaches, &c.

The

The women are kept very close, living in separate apartments from the men, who lay aside all business during the time of amorous dalliance. The women who are to be hired for money, sit at night upon benches at their doors, with lanterns in their hands, and each man may chuse among them as he likes.

The inhabitants are of a brown complexion; and the poorer sort, if they do not go quite naked, are very near it. The more wealthy affect the splendor of the Persians in their dress; but some few, who are biased to antiquity and whim, habit themselves like their forefathers, wearing gold and silver rings in their hands, ears, and noses. The common people use dates instead of rice or bread, and dates and fish are in general their principal food, not only here, but all along the coast; even their cattle are fed with date-stones, and the guts and heads of fish boiled and mashed together, fodder being extremely scarce.

They have plenty of tame fowls, which are in little estimation, being of a brackish taste; also pigeons, partridges, sheep, and hares. Among the variety of excellent fish which the sea hereabouts yields, are soals, and prodigious fine oysters, the worth of which food they know but little of, neglecting them entirely. Here they preserve fruits well; and the better sort of people, but more particularly the Persian governor, live in extreme pomp and luxury.

About a league to the eastward of the city is the sepulchre of a famous Banian saint, lying under a tree, the branches of which bending downward, take root again and produce other trees, so forming a naturally continued succession of arbours, to which the people repair in parties of pleasure, to shelter themselves from the heat of the sun. The intermediate spaces of ground, which are not engrossed



grossed by the rooting of the tree, are paved with brick; and adorned with neat benches to accommodate those who are wearied. Hither several sects of Indians repair to offer sacrifice.

Over the sepulchre is built a small pagod, wherein are many lamps burning both night and day under a silken canopy.

There is a sect of bramins who always go naked, their privities excepted: they have no dwelling-places of their own, but sleep on dunghills, or in the porches of the temples. These are oft to be met with, sitting cross-legged on the highway. They never pare their nails, shave their beards, or cut their hair; so that they have a most savage appearance. The strange penances which these people inflict upon themselves are almost incredible, for, they voluntarily subject themselves to miseries which one would think human nature was unable to endure.

Some of them have been known to continue in devotion nine or ten days, without eating or drinking; others of them never sit; and when they intend to sleep, tie a rope about their middles, and hang themselves to the branch of a tree; a third sort carry their hands always above their heads, and distort their eyes strangely, never looking upon any body, as if it were criminal to distinguish objects; neither can the stinging of the gnats, nor the heat of the sun induce them to alter their mortifying positions. They besmear their bodies with ashes and cow dung mixed, as well as sandal-wood and saffron; so that they cut a most nauseous figure. These wretches are the principal objects of the devotion of the Indian women, who kiss the extremities of their fingers ends, but direct their adoration particularly to the privities, to which they apply their lips with the profoundest respect; and if these miserable creatures should chance to manifest the least sensibility from the contact,

contact, they would be no longer ranked among the holy.

The governor of Gameron is accountable for his conduct to certain commissioners, who are sent yearly to examine into it by the king of Persia, with a power to take his head if he has acted illegally. He is obliged to meet these officers unarmed, but it is very seldom he is known to pay the forfeit. If he is found to have behaved well, he is presented with some pieces of cloth by way of reward; and they enter the city together, where they feast for some days.

There are foot-posts between Gameron and Isfahan, wonderfully expeditious: they are appointed by the governor, who first tries their ability by setting them to run with a single horseman, and if they answer expectation he gives them the title of runners, together with a suit of cloaths, and permits them to attend any stranger who come hither for hire, when he himself has no occasion for them.

The tanned skins of the Persian sheep and goats are in great repute; and the shepherds manage their flocks, in one of which there are often five hundred of these animals, with great facility, shifting their pasturage, which seem to be in common among them, as the grass is consumed.

The isles of Queixam, Kefam, Larek, but more particularly of Ormus, are seen a little to the right of Gameron.

The island of Ormus lies between twenty-five and twenty-six degrees of north latitude; it is intersected by a ridge of mountains, stretching from east to west along the whole island. Behind these are seen nothing but white and barren hills, producing very fine salt; one of them is pyramidical, and composed of nothing else. One the top of another, which is called the Mountain of the Dead, the Portuguese formerly built a chapel, sacred to



our Lady of the Rock, to which the natives have cut steps, it being naturally very steep. This chapel is observed to arise daily higher, the brimstone, salt, and salt-petre daily encreasing.

The chapel of St. Lucy is near this mountain, rising upon the ruins of certain old towers, in which the kings of Ormus used formerly to imprison their brothers, after having bereft them of their eyesight.

Here is a large plain, in which are kept, safely locked, certain cisterns of rain-water, there being no springs in the island; and this is much better than any that is gathered either in pools or ponds, tho' it don't equal the fresh water brought from Quixome.

On the north side of the island lies the city of Ormus, once one of the most flourishing places in the world, being then frequented by people of all nations and of all religions, on account of its wealth; it was once said, that if the world were a ring, Ormus must be considered as the diamond.

The Dutch ships used formerly to make a practice, of transporting in their own bottoms, such marble stones as they gathered out of the ruins of the old city of Ormus; but this practice has been lately countermanded by an order from the Persian governor, under a very severe penalty, the Persians themselves applying them to the building of Gameron.

Ormus was once one of the most famous cities in the world, on account of its trade, and the convenience of its situation, before a passage by sea to the East Indies was discovered; nor did the Portuguese, after they had conquered it, neglect adding to its beauty: for, so far did their ostentation extend, that the very iron of their doors and windows was plated with gold: and it was said, that had it remained in their hands till now, they

they would have turned it all into massy gold. Upon an eminence they erected a stately church, sacred to the holy Virgin; and an hospital called Misericordie, adjoining thereto, besides many monasteries, the best of which belonged to the Augustinians and Carmelites; and although the Persians have despoiled it of its beauties, there still remain glorious traces of its former splendor; among which an high steeple, admired for the beauty of its architecture, is not one of the least of its considerable ornaments.

The fortifications of this city, when in the hands of the Portuguese, were but indifferent. Round the castle, which was four square, ran a ditch, so choaked with dirt, that it had seldom six feet water; and the commanders of it, who are changed annually, as is the Portuguese custom, were but poor engineers: indeed their knowledge of military affairs in general was scarcely much better. Two sides of this castle were washed by the Persian sea, the other two faced the city, in the road to which was a very handsome square, whence there was a very pleasant view of the sea. The Persians have fortified the town much better; they have deepened the ditch, and erected an half-moon that commands a good way round. The harbour is made by two points of land jutting out, on one of which stands a castle, and on the other a church, built by the Portuguese in honour of our lady of Good Hope. This harbour was not always safe for shipping, being too much exposed to easterly winds, whereby vessels are very often driven ashore.

The governor of Ormus commonly resides at Gameron, appointing a deputy who lives in the city of Ormus, in the palace belonging to the ancient kings.

The



The pleafantest part of the whole ifland is called Inrumbake, lying betwixt the mountains and the fea.

Here was formerly an elegant country-feat belonging to the royal family, furrounded with fine walks of palm, but running faft to decay, as being entirely neglected when our author faw it.

In the jurifdiction of this palace were two large cifterns, and a bafon fupplied by a neighbouring brook, and three contiguous ponds, the water contained in which was very good.

The village of Turumbake is but poorly built, confifting of only a few huts, built with reed, and covered with palm-leaves ; yet this place is made a fummer retirement by feveral of the chief families of Ormus.

It fometimes does not rain in this ifland for three years ; confequently, it cannot be expected that the foil, which is nothing but a lump of falt, fhould be fertile ; and if we except the products of the royal garden, which are moft of them forced, there is neither grafs nor verdure, nor yet fcarcely any thing fit for the fufenance of a human creature, the fpontaneous growth of the ifland. Sometimes indeed you may meet with dates, a kind of thorn, and a few fhubs.

The mountains are full of rock-falt, which is quite transparent. There are feveral falt fprings in the ifland, one of which, faid to have many medicinal qualities, is called by the inhabitants Abdarmon, and they refort to it at a particular time of the year, to obtain relief in many diforders : the waters of this fpring are ftrong purgatives.

There is a fort of earthen veffels made out of the clay of the ifland, and a plaster called gueche, of which there are two kinds, the white and the red ; befides this, they prepare a plaifter out of dung, making the bottom of a dunghill up into balls,

balls, which having dried in the sun, they burn, and then beat to dust, mixing it immediately for use; but if they let the ashes cool before they temper them, they are good for little.

Their cattle are fed in the morning with balls of black sugar, mixed with butter; and they wash their teeth immediately after, to prevent the dirt sticking therein. In the day-time they feed them with such herbs as the land affords, first taking care to cleanse them well. Their meals at night are pease and beans steeped in water, having been first ground.

The inhabitants fish up a great deal of wood from the bottom of the neighbouring sea, in which it always sinks, whereas, in all other places it floats upon the surface. This wood is brought down by the currents from the Persian mountains, which are not above two leagues distant.

Many things concur to support the truth of this island's having formerly continued on fire for seven years together; such as, it being often subject to earthquakes, the south winds which blow from the mountains impregnating the air with brimstone, the earth being in many places black and red, making a most frightful appearance, and the valleys covered with ashes, not unlike quick-lime; there being besides these marks of a fire, a spongy kind of pumice-stone all along the coast just under the water, and this being light, brittle, and porous, easily mixes, when powdered, with the water, causing an excellent cement, which hardening in time, proves a sufficient protection against the severity of the weather. It is not impossible these stones were cast out by a burning mountain, there being many of them very black, those only being white which are found near the sea-shore; where, besides having lain a long time, they have been continually washed by the water.



The heats here are much more intense than at Cameron, continuing at least five months, and sometimes lasting from May to December. During this season the wind is south-east, and west south-west, very seldom southerly. It is remarkable, that this last wind, tho' it don't waft any great refreshment to the houses, yet cools the water, which the inhabitants every where bathe themselves in; for they seldom venture to swim or plunge in the sea, the saltness and heat of which would excoriate the body.

The public houses pay a considerable license to the king, and sell a sweet liquor like must, drawn from a tree, and call it tari; also a distillation from rice and sugar, and Spanish and Persian wines; tho' the latter being very dear, is found only among the better sort of people, water being the common beverage of the meaner inhabitants.

Ormuz was formerly governed by its own kings, who from custom and imposts raised prodigious treasures, whereby they were enabled to extend their conquests on the continent; but what they had gained here by their arms, they afterwards lost by their neglect, giving themselves up entirely to voluptuousness, and abandoning the care of public affairs to favourites, who, preferring their own private interest to the advantage of their sovereign, and the honour of their country, became an easy prey to the arms of the Portuguese, who forced them to pay tribute, and domineered over them till the year 1622, when they were driven out by the Persians, assisted by the English, who, in consideration of their great services, were granted a moiety of all the customs to be collected in that port.

All the Indian commodities were formerly brought into Europe by the way of Ormuz, from whence they were carried down the Persian gulph and the river Euphrates to Bassora; from  
Bassora

Bassora they were borne upon camels to Bagdad, a city upon the Tigris, where joining several other caravans, they made a journey of forty days thro' the desarts of Syria, in their way to Aleppo. From Aleppo they went to Tripoli, which lies upon the Mediterranean, on which sea they were embarked for the different ports of Europe. The discovery of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope has entirely destroyed this tedious and expensive method of carriage, and consequently been of prodigious detriment to the city of Ormus, tho' some merchants still resort thither to buy pearl; and a few Persian silks are carried by land to Bagdad.

#### C H A P. IV.

*Of the pearl fishery of the island of Baharen: of the island of Quixome; but more particularly of the prisonous Raxana: of the taking of this island by the Portuguese; of their expulsion by the Persians and English: our author quits the city of Gameron, and proceeds in his voyage: of some preparations on the side of the Dutch against the city of St. Thomas; that city described: the tomb of the apostle St. Thomas; our author reaches the city of Paliaketta; a description of it: of the Kestices and Kastices what they are: Masulipatnam described.*

**A**MONG the number of other islands in the Persian gulph is that of Baharen, famous for its pearl fisheries, which generally employ above two hundred barks; but of this we have heretofore treated more at large.

Three leagues from Ormus lies an island called Quixome, which bears plenty of corn and other grain; and among various sorts of trees, the product of this soil is one, the fruit of which is reckon-



ed so poisonous, that the least taste of it instantly kills, and sleeping under its shade a quarter of an hour is certain death: it is called baxana, and the fruit of it rabuzit.

As there is good fresh water in this island, as well as grain, from whence the island of Ormus was supplied, the Portuguese seized upon it, and erected a fortification; but they were soon driven out by the Persians by land, and by the English who besieged it by sea.

On the isle of Jarek, which lies to the southward of Ormus, the Dutch East India company residing at Gameron, have planted a garden, in which they keep some useful vegetables, and tame fowls for their recreation.

Having taken in his lading at Gameron, our author quitted it the 2d of June, proceeding along the coast of Malabar, intending for Puntogale in the isle of Ceylon, to the governor of which he had recommendatory letters; but these he sent ashore by a small vessel, not chusing to land himself, and went forward to Jasnapatnam.

The Dutch were about this time preparing to lay siege to St. Thomas, measures from which they were diverted by that island's being sold to the Pagans by the Portuguese.

The city of St. Thomas, otherwise called Odamena, and by the natives Maliapor, lies upon the coast of Coromandel; it is one of the handsomest towns in all the east, whether we consider it with respect to the magnificence of its buildings, or the number and wealth of its inhabitants. It is fortified with a stone wall, and several bastions, having three hundred villages and towns under its jurisdiction, and being one of the most convenient harbours in all the East Indies. Here was a church in the time of the Portuguese, belonging to the capuchins, and dedicated to St. Francis, besides several

veral other handsome public edifices, and a college in the hands of the Jesuits, who in the year 1604, were said to have converted one hundred thousand Mahometans and Pagans in this town only. The body of St. Thomas the apostle is said to be buried here, his sepulchre being shewn in a little chapel, upon the summit of a mountain, which may be seen a great way out at sea. The spot in which St. Thomas is supposed formerly to have said his prayers is surrounded with iron steps handsomely built. Upon the whole, the chapel is beautifully ornamented, and being vastly esteemed as a relick, the wood is often carried away by the devout pilgrims and set in gold.

From Jafnapatnam our author proceeded to Negapatnam, which is compounded of two Malabar words, signifying serpent and city, and is so named from the abundance of serpents, called cobro capellos, that swarm hereabouts. It lies in nine degrees and forty-five minutes of north latitude, and was, when in the hands of the Portuguese, from whom the Dutch took it in 1658, handsomely ornamented with several good churches and other edifices, scarcely much more than the remains of which are now to be seen. It is however well fortified, and surrounded with a good moat, being pretty populous, and most of the inhabitants of a tawny complexion, sprung from a mixture of Moors and Christians. The chief trade is carried on by Mahometans.

Our author having settled his business at this port, coasted along the shore, which is flat and sandy, till the 15th of June, when he arrived at Paleakatte, where he accounted with the East India director, Laurence Pit, for the cargo of gold and silver that he had taken in at Persia.

The Dutch East India company have a strong fort here, called Jeldree, with four stone bastions.

The



The town is inhabited partly by Hollanders, and partly by pagan natives, called Jantives; the latter for the most part trade in painted and white calicoes and linen.

The country about it abounds with rice and other grain, of which there is here a weekly market.

In the river is plenty of fish, which are cured and transported to foreign markets, by the inhabitants, who take care to catch them before the setting in of the summer heats, whereby they are often destroyed in the water.

The principal inhabitants are compounded of mestices and kastices; the former are the children of Europeans and the natives, and the kastices are the children of the mestices.

Here are also some rich Jews, Thomists, and Banians.

Having settled his affairs at Paleakate, our author quitted it on the 20th of July, and dropped anchor before Masulipatnam, there to take on board wood and water. This city lies upon the river Kish, a few leagues from Nagapatnam, and is intirely surrounded by water on the north-west of it; to the land side is a standing pool, over which is a bridge, forming communication between the country and the city, two thousand paces long, and on the middle of this bridge stands a house wherein travellers may rest themselves if weary.

The river, in winter, rises so very high, that the inhabitants are obliged to sail thro' the streets in boats; but in summer the stream may be waded through, not being more than four feet deep: it is greatly infested with crocodiles, but is however filled with excellent fish. The city is well peopled, and closely built; the houses, which are very neat, all of wood, covered with pan-tiles, stone buildings being forbid by a royal edict, the king imagining that strong edifices would  
en-

encourage his subjects to rebel, conscious perhaps that his own tyranny, or inattention to business, or else the oppressions practised by his minister, were sufficient to rouse them thereto. The Persian Mahometans have, however, been permitted to erect a mosque of white free-stone in the very center of the town; and some Portuguese capuchins have had interest enough to settle a convent; but most of the inhabitants, being all merchants, are pagans, tho', like the Moors, they wear white callico vests and turbans.

They use rice instead of bread, their common drink is water, and they have plenty of fish, ducks, geese, and wild and tame fowl of all kinds. The Dutch and English East-India companies have each a factory here.

The country, to the west of Masulipatnam, is level and champaigne; to the east it abounds with palm and other trees, the prospect being bounded by aspiring hills from this place. Mr. Nieuhoff returned to Paliakatte, where he took in a lading of such wares as he knew were then saleable at Batavia, whither he was already prepared to direct his course, when he was obliged, by an order from the company, to join a fleet sent from Europe; against several places in possession of the Portuguese, lying on the coast of Malabar: in this expedition he was witness to the taking of the cities of Colang, Cranganor, and some other places, of which we have discoursed more fully in the preceding memoirs of Baldeus.

It was at this time that the Dutch restored the lawful king of Cochin to his throne, from whence he had been driven by the Portuguese to make way for one of his aunts, who was in their interest: his name was Momadavil; he was a conversible sort of a man, speaking the Malabar and Portuguese tongues indifferently well: he gene-



rally had a gold chain hanging round his neck, large rings of that metal on his fingers, and was commonly dressed in white callico.

This prince, while the Dutch laid siege to Cochinchina, was committed to the care of Mr. Nieuhoff, who relying upon his honour, and that of the queen of Colang, permitted him freely to visit her. After his return from which intercourse, he was taken extremely ill, and died on board.

He was succeeded by a brother, whose crown was of gold, having engraven upon it the arms of the East-India company. This prince kept his court, which was really magnificent, in a most agreeable situation, at a small distance from Cochinchina.

#### CHAP. V.

*Mr. Nieuhoff is appointed the company's agent to settle a friendly correspondence with the Malabar princes; he arrives at Calcolang; his reception there: a character of the king and his first minister; he goes from thence to Porka; the country described, and the king's palace: concludes a treaty with the king of Porka: Christianity encouraged here: the disorders incident to the inhabitants; their traffic; our author opposed in his negotiation at the court of Marta; carries his point with difficulty; he has an audience of the king of Travankoor; his dominions described; his interview with the queen of Colang.*

AFTER the surrender of the last mentioned city, it appearing necessary to confirm an alliance with some of the neighbouring princes who inhabit the sea-coast of Malabar, Nieuhoff was pitched upon by Mr. James Hustart, chief counsellor of the Indies, for that weighty department;

ment; and being supplied with credentials, and all necessary instructions, he set out on the 21st of January, 1664, for the city of Calcolang, attended by a serjeant, an interpreter, and several soldiers.

On his arrival in that city, notice being given of it to the king, he and an under-factor of the East-India company, whose name was Willing, were introduced to the royal presence, and met with a reception both respectful and satisfactory. His majesty had the character of an honest sincere man; to the belief of which his countenance invited, and his actions confirmed it.

The principal affairs of this kingdom were managed by one of his rasidoors, a principal favourite, who like most other ministers of state, never separated private interest from public advantage, but upon the whole, was rather swayed by the former.

From this place, our author set out to visit the king of Porka, whom he followed to his country seat, about ten leagues up the country, which was flat, having a number of dykes cut thro' it, like the province of Holland; the land on each side bearing crops of rice, or being ornamented with stately trees; and here being no high roads, most people travel by water.

Our author embarked for Kudda Malair, otherwise Koromallo, for so was the palace called, upon a narrow sluice, which opened into a large lake, two leagues broad; from whence he passed into a channel, the entrance of which was very narrow, and so choaked up with flaggs, that there were scarcely room to manage their oars. From hence they passed into a broad river, with very pleasant fields of rice on each side, and some mountains at a distance, whereon, amongst many other trees, there flourished a few bearing pepper,



together with several handsome houses, gardens well laid out, which with groves here and there interspersed, form a most agreeable landscape.

Kuddan Mallair lies upon the right side of the river, in a village inhabited by Christians of the sect of St. Thomas. In their passage up this river, they fired at a large crocodile, which lay sunning himself upon a bank, but he escaped into the water. This voracious animal was greatly dreaded by the country people, and had done a great deal of mischief.

The king was rebuilding his palace, which was an old fashioned square structure, wherein there was a vast number of apartments, some of them ornamented with good carved work, and the windows being either twisted canes or transparent shells of mother of pearl. In it were also some very fine bathing rooms, which were to be ascended by broad stone steps, some whereof were twenty feet in length, and a foot and a half thick.

Mr. Nieuhoff's coming having been signified at court before his arrival, he was received upon the shore by a great officer of state, who conducted him to the royal presence, and he found the king extremely well inclined to the Dutch interest. His majesty attended him to the door, at his departure, and the officer of state who had introduced him afterwards, brought him into his own apartment, where he had provided an handsome entertainment for him and his attendants. Mr. Nieuhoff entered into a treaty with this monarch, which was committed to writing; this done, he departed from Cochinchina to give an account to Mr. Hustart of his manner of proceeding; by whom he was again dispatched to the king of Porka, to put the finishing hand to this negotiation, which chiefly regarded the pepper trade; and so much respect was paid to him on account of the character in which he appeared,

peared, that he had an audience of the king an hour after his arrival, who received him very magnificently dressed, and royally attended.

After he had delivered his credentials, the king, who spoke good Portuguese, conferred with him in private, and granted every thing that he demanded in behalf of the company, in consideration of a sum of money to be paid him at a certain time. His majesty was an absolute prince, independent of any other power, and so severely just, that no man in his dominions dared be guilty of the most trifling theft whatsoever. He was well made, had a good share of natural understanding, and was not above thirty years old. He was master of above five hundred small craft, and in these consisted his principal strength.

The kings of Porka were formerly idolaters, worshipping at least nine hundred idols. Christianity was introduced here, and has prevailed lately pretty much; at the close of the sixteenth century.

He who reigned, when our author was there, was an encourager of it, and had granted to the Jesuits considerable privileges; such as that of building churches with crosses on their tops, and steeples with bells in them; and in these, Christians were allowed freely to exercise their religion.

The kingdom of Porka is about twelve leagues long, having Cochin to the northward, Calcolang to the southward, the sea to the west, and Takken Berkenker to the north-east. The land is in general fruitful, but the air not wholesome. The inhabitants are much afflicted with blindness, arising from their eating hot rice; and thick swelled legs, caused by their drinking brackish water. They live by husbandry, and vending their pepper, which used formerly to be bought up by the English, but is at present wholly engrossed by the



Dutch, to whom the king may, in some measure, be looked upon as tributary.

From Porka our author and Mr. George Henry Willing set out on horseback for the city of Marta, or Martan, which is the metropolis of a kingdom of the same name, lying three leagues to the southward of Cochin.

About noon the same day, they arrived at the Dutch East India factory in that city, which is a handsome building, erected in the Malabar taste; with good gardens, and walks planted with palm.

Our author was introduced to the king, but was strongly opposed in his demands, which were to forbid the importation of pepper; all which branches of trade the company wanted to engross to themselves.

Some Mahometan merchants, in whose hands this traffic was particularly vested, used all their interest with the king, to prevent our author from carrying his point; in which, however, after a toilsome negotiation of two days, he succeeded, he not having insisted on the grant of peeling wild cinamon.

When matters were adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of the king and the factor, articles of agreement were drawn up, and signed by them both, in an area before the court; an incredible number of people having flocked together to be witnesses of this ceremony. Mr. Nieuhoff, in the management of this treaty, shewed himself a man of very great abilities; for had he not been master of a great deal of penetration, and known very well how to time his generosity, he would have stood a very poor chance of succeeding.

The kingdom of Marten extends as far as Porka; which bounds it to the northward; on the south, it has the Indian sea, and is terminated to the eastward by very high mountains. It is populous  
and

and fruitful, abounding with pepper, having plenty of pease, beans, and other vegetables, with good fields of rice, and some salt pits.

The reigning king was a person about sixty years old, a large limbed stern looking man, wearing a scarlet turban lined with calico, and keeping one thousand two hundred negroes in pay.

There is a good number of Christians in this kingdom, and the Jesuits, in the year 1581, had interest enough to procure leave to build a church, which they dedicated to St. Andrew; the finishing hand having been put to it on the day sacred to the memory of this saint.

Our author returned from Marten, on the 9th of February, to Kalcolang, the monarch of which place presented him with a very rich brocaded gown made after the Indian fashion; and expressed great pleasure when he heard the success of his negotiation.

February the 12th, Mr. Nieuhoff embarked in a vessel, prepared purposely for him, for Attingen, which place was the residence of the king of Travankoor. About break of day, he landed at a village about five leagues to the east of Coulang, called Napull, being carried ashore in an Indian boat; for the sea ran then so high, that the vessel in which he was, would have been endangered, had it not kept aloof.

From Napull he travelled for about a league, with the sea all the while in view, till he came to a large river, where he embarked on board a boat, which, after three hours rowing, brought him safely to the court of the king of Travankoor; one of whose great officers met him on the stairs as he ascended, and conducted him into the royal presence, where he was very respectfully received; and having delivered his credentials, he was ordered to wait for an answer in the gardens of the



palace, to which he was conducted, in order that he might see them, being attended by some of the principal nobility, and refreshed with pyfang.

After some delay in this place, he received a message from the king, to inform him, that in an affair of so much consequence as that negotiation now depending, his majesty could not determine till the following day; and his answer then was of such a nature, that Mr. Nieuhoff had room to suspect, that the company would find no very good friend in the king; but he had a message sent privately by the queen, assuring him of her good inclinations to the Dutch, which she would exert in endeavouring to hasten a peace between them. In fine, the conclusion of this treaty was adjourned to Coulang, to which place our author returned on the 16th of February.

The kingdom of Travankoor is about twenty-four leagues long, it takes its name from the capital city, and abounds with pepper, rice, wild cinnamon, &c. The inhabitants, who are pretty numerous, dress after the Malabar fashion. The king is served in great state, maintaining abundance of commanders, whom they call mandegals, and many counsellors, called pullas.

The pepper about Attingen is not so large as in the valleys of Coulang and Cochin, the soil that produces it being strong and red.

The hills are divided into fields of rice, rising one above another like steps, and watered by many pleasant little streams.

On the 18th of February, our author set out from Coulang, in company with Mr. Seaward Baker, for Gaenree, in order to conclude a treaty with the queen of that place; but on his arrival at Caligoli, he was informed, that the queen was gone upon a pilgrimage into the country of Paratali, whence she would not return in less than a month,

it being five days tedious journey, without any conveniency of carriage; besides the roads being so rocky, they were scarcely passable. This disappointment induced him to give over his design of going after the queen, and to leave a letter with one of her residours, inviting her to accept of the proffered friendship of the company as the other Malabar princes had done.

Soon after this transaction, Mr. Nieuhoff was met at Coulang-China, by one of the king of Travankoor's residours, who, after some altercation, concluded a treaty of peace with him, much to the advantage of the company.

March the 2d, Mr. Nieuhoff set out for the palace of the queen of Coulang, whom he found attended by seven hundred soldiers, and extremely well inclined to accept of all his overtures; she presented him with a golden bracelet taken from her own arm. She was a middle-aged woman, very capable of managing public affairs. Her complexion was brown, and her hair black, tyed behind in a knot, round her middle was wrapped a strip of calico, another flowed carelessly over her shoulders; the upper part of her body was naked, and she had a sort of white cap on; her neck and arms were ornamented with golden bracelets set with precious stones, and she had very valuable pendants in her ears, which were very long.

Our author, on his return to Coulang, paid a visit to admiral Houstart, to whom he gave a full account of all his proceedings, and who expressed himself extremely well pleased at his conduct.

About this time, commodore Bitter's lady was introduced to the queen by Mr. Nieuhoff, in whose palanquin she was conducted to court, where she was extremely well received, and the Malabar women were as curious to have a sight of her, peeping into the palanquin as she passed along, on ac-



count of her being an European, as she could possibly be to have an interview with the queen of Coulang and her ladies.

## CHAP. VI.

*Our author quits Coulang, and is ordered to Toutekorin; and after some time remanded back to Coulang: a description of Toutekorin, and a character of the inhabitants: of an extraordinary sort of mice: the boldness of the serpents of Madure: showers of sand very dangerous: the manner in which the nayk of Madure secures the fidelity of his principal officers: of the pearl fishery: the manner of diving for pearls: of an animated horn called fianco: our author crosses the Balligaté mountains; in danger of being plundered by robbers: he comes back to Coulang, but quits it on account of a dispute, and embarks for Holland: his conduct approved of; he is appointed a factor for the East India company again.*

OUR author having settled the company's affairs upon a good footing, and secured their trade, by concluding treaties with several of their princes upon the coast of Malabar, set out from Coulang, where he had chiefly resided more than two years, for Toutekorin, there to supply the place of the company's chief director, who was ordered to Persia upon very important business.

March the 12th, our author embarked for that city, where he arrived on the 18th, having been harrassed by contrary winds. He staid here about six months, and was then remanded back to Coulang, where he was supposed to be in high estimation, to take upon him once again the government of the company's trade in that city; leaving  
to

to Mr. Laurence Piil, the care of their interest at Toutedkorin.

Toutedkorin is, properly speaking, no better than the chief village, there being six others upon the coast of Madure, which, in all, are supposed to contain about twenty thousand souls. It is a beautiful sea-port, situated on a flat, ornamented with some good stone buildings, among which are three Christian churches, a convent of Franciscans, and a Protestant chapel.

The inhabitants are rather Heathens than Christians, tho' they seem very attentive to the performance of divine service, of which, however, they understand but little. They are strong and black, deceitful, cunning, and amorous, paying but little respect to their wives, and keeping generally many favourite mistresses. They feed upon meat and rice, drink nothing but water, and subsist upon pearl fishing, weaving and painting of calicoes.

The captains and governors of these seven villages, who are chosen annually, swear fidelity to the Dutch East India company. They are principally under the jurisdiction of the nayk of Madure, whose country is about seventy-five leagues long, and thirty broad, the sea-coast being full of pearl; the land void of any sort of verdure, houseleek and thistles excepted; nor will even the coco, which springs up almost any where, flourish in this soil.

Here are hares, the flesh of which is tough, also red partridges; here are also two sorts of mice, both which are an overmatch for a cat, the smaller sort is red and very fierce; the larger sort in colour and shape like the European mice, but they have a rough skin, without any hair. These are as large as cats, fight stoutly, and do considerable damage, by digging holes in the merchants warehouses.



The country is full of venomous creatures; and so fearless are their serpents, that one of them cast its skin in the night at the feet of our author's bed.

In October, November, and December, the westerly winds are pestiferously hot, bearing with them such showers of light sand from the mountains, that it is dangerous walking in the fields, for fear of being smothered by them.

The nayk is master of several considerable provinces, each of which has its peculiar governor, of whose fidelity he assures himself by detaining their wives and children under a guard of eunuchs, in a castle about seven leagues from Madure; nor are the husbands permitted to see them without a particular licence, which generally limits their stay to two or three days: for this reason, many of his chief nobility content themselves with harlots. We should have observed before, that the word nayk, signified governor or viceroy formerly, tho' at present it is awarded to those who bear the royal power.

The pearl-fishery lies between the coast of Madure and the island of Ceylon. Some of the banks whereon the oysters are laid, are six or seven fathom under water, and double that distance from the shore. The pearl-banks are rather rocks of white coral: the oysters, when they come to be six years old, vomit out their pearls, which are consequently lost. October is the best season to fish for them, the weather being then calm, and the sea pretty quiet. The divers are covered with a thin waistcoat, having gloves on their hands, and nets tyed about their necks; into which they put the oysters they pick up from the rocks. To each of them is appended a stone of about fifty pounds weight, whereby they are carried more swiftly to the bottom; and this stone is drawn up

as soon as they give the signal of their having touched the ground: they then go to work as fast as ever they can, scraping the shells wherewith they fill their nets from the rocks. When they find themselves unable to stay any longer under water, they are, upon pulling the rope which ties them, one end of it being held by a person in the boat, immediately drawn up. These boats, which are called toniis, together with their crews and divers, are hired for so much a day.

All the oysters that are brought on shore are laid in an heap till the time of fishing is over, and then they are opened in a wooden house erected for that purpose, before a factor belonging to the company, and one of the nayk's agents. It often happens, that the bad smell, arising from their having been kept too long, communicates an infectious distemper. In some shells are often found no pearls, in others, six or seven, nay sometimes eight. They are brightened before they are sold, by rubbing them with powdered rice and salt.

Besides the pearl-oysters, they catch upon this coast, a certain animated horn called fiancos; of these they make bracelets and thumb-rings, preferring them to ivory. Among them is sometimes caught one much more valuable than the rest, on account of its bigness and colour, being red and green; which is called the king's horn: but there is scarcely found more than one of these in a hundred years. The divers and fishermen are often devoured by sharks, against which voracious creatures they arm themselves with charms and incantations, notwithstanding their being Christians.

Our author, in his journey to Coulang, crossed the Balligate, which is a dreadful ridge of mountains, above a hundred leagues long; the surface of the earth being of a bright red, causes, by reflection,



fection, a most dreadful appearance in the sky, upon a sunshiny day.

As there are no inns between Toutekorin and Coulang, wherein travellers may rest and be refreshed, our author was attended by several slaves, who carried provisions, and a guard of soldiers; to which last addition to his train he was obliged for protection from a party of Malabar robbers, who, had he not thus been defended, would have certainly stripped him and his people; for, they had the boldness to seize two of his followers, who were laden with Persian wines: however, they were put to flight upon perceiving a file of musqueteers ready to discharge upon them.

May the 25th, Mr. Nieuhoff arrived at Coulang, where he took measures for fortifying and repairing the city, but having some difference with Mr. Goens, who presided in the room of Jacob Houstart, then at Batavia, he was ordered to the city of Columbo in the isle of Ceylon: from which place, having staid there about a year, he went to Batavia on the 20th of August 1667, where he remained three years without being at all engaged in the company's service.

December the 17th 1670, he set sail for Holland in an East India ship, and on the 1st of January got sight of the isle of Money.

March the 6th, they made the Cape of Good Hope, where, upon the 8th of the same month, arrived the Mary yacht, having on board the Marquis de Mondeverguin, a French nobleman, who was governor of Madagascar and some other places under the jurisdiction of France.

They left the cape on the 20th, and on the 9th of July, came to anchor in the Texel; in a few days after, our author went to Amsterdam, where he had a conference with count Maurice of Nassau, who was particularly pleased with the observations

servations that he had made in his various voyages and travels ; nor were the directors of the East India company less satisfied with his behaviour and conduct. In token of their approbation, they a third time appointed him one of their factors to the East Indies ; but before we follow him in this his last voyage, we shall proceed to lay before you his account of the island of Java in general, and the city of Batavia in particular ; for no man could be more exact in his observations during his stay upon that island, he having lived upon it three years, without being employed by the East India company, as we have before observed ; and his remarks, not only abound with matter sufficient to entertain and instruct a curious and intelligent reader, but, upon the whole, they are allowed to be the best description of that island, both for truth and exactness ; that has been hitherto published.

## C H A P. VII.

*The situation of the island of Java ; its division and chiefs ; soil, productions, climate, seasons, beasts wild and tame : the natives of the island characterised : the antient state of Batavia ; its modern appearance ; its streets, channels, and number of bridges : its churches, castle, and other public buildings.*

THE island of great Java lies six degrees southward of the line. It is divided from Sumatra by the streights of Sunda, the distance between them not being more than five leagues. Small vessels may pass conveniently between it and Borneo, an island lying to the north. It is separated on the east from the lesser Java, otherwise called Baty, by the channel of Balambnam ; on the



the south, it is washed by the main ocean. It is supposed to be near one hundred and forty leagues long, its breadth is different in many places. On the north coast of Java, are several good harbours, commodious creeks, and flourishing towns, with some small islands near the shore.

This island was formerly divided into several petty kingdoms, but they are all at present united under the jurisdiction of the king of Bantam, who is in possession of the western part of the island, and the emperor of Mataram, who governs the eastern, and by far the better part of great Java, whereof he is stiled emperor by the Dutch.

The land is fertile about the sea-coast, but the Europeans have as yet made very little progress in the country, the ingress whereof is forbid by forests that are impassable, and mountains that wrap their hoary heads in clouds.

They have plenty of rice and salt, with good hogs, oxen, sheep, fish and fowl, both wild and tame. The woods are infested with tygers, rhinoceroses, and various other sorts of wild beasts; and crocodiles lurk in almost all the rivers. There are no vegetive productions natural to the soil of Malabar, which are not known here. Few climates are more temperate and wholesome, the east and west winds blowing all the year along the sea-shore, besides the common land and sea-breezes.

The coast is very dangerous in the month of December, on account of the violence of the westerly winds. In February, the weather is changeable, with casual storms of thunder and lightning. In March, they begin to sow, their sugar and rice ripens in July, and October furnishes them not only with plenty of fruit, but with every thing necessary to sustain life, as well as to make it agreeable.

The

The sky is generally serene from May to November, when it begins to be overcast, and rains some time so vehemently for three or four days together, that all the low countries are laid under water; yet, one conveniency attends that innundation, that of carrying off numberless broods of insects, which would otherwise prove destructive to their fruit.

The natives of Java are proud, barbarous, cheats, lyars, and impostors; they have flat faces, of a brown hue, with little eyes, like the antient Chinese, from whom they boast themselves descended, large eye-brows, with big cheeks, and thin black hair: the men are strong-limbed and robust, wearing a piece of callico wrapped several times round their bodies, which, among the better sort, is flowered with gold.

The women are generally small, having this garment reaching from their arm-pits to their knees, all below being bare.

The religion of the Javanese, who live near the sea-side, has been that of Mahomet for near two centuries: the rest of the natives are pagans, and they are all indulged in the liberty of having two or three wives, besides as many concubines as they can keep.

On the western part of this island, near the sea, lie several good cities, such as Batavia, Taggel, Charabaon, Dermuyaon, Manuhaon, Karavaon; on the eastern part the cities of Balambuan, Panarukan, Passarvan, Joartan, Surabafaya, Brandaon, Sydaya, Tubaon, Kajaon, Japare, Pati, Danina, Samarang, and Mataram, the residence of the emperor of Java.

Batavia was formerly no more than an open village, inhabited by pagans, and surrounded by a pallisado of bamboos; but since the Dutch have established a settlement here, it is said to be one  
of



of the finest cities in the East-Indies. The Chinese and Javanese call it Kalakka, from a sort of cocoa fruit, which abounds in its neighbourhood: it lies in five degrees fifty minutes south latitude, having to the southward a fenny soil, and being bounded to the northward by woods and mountains: it is watered by a beautiful river, that takes its rise in a neighbouring mountain; and after wandering thro' a thousand little meanders, collects itself into a body before it enters into the city of Batavia, where it empties itself into the sea.

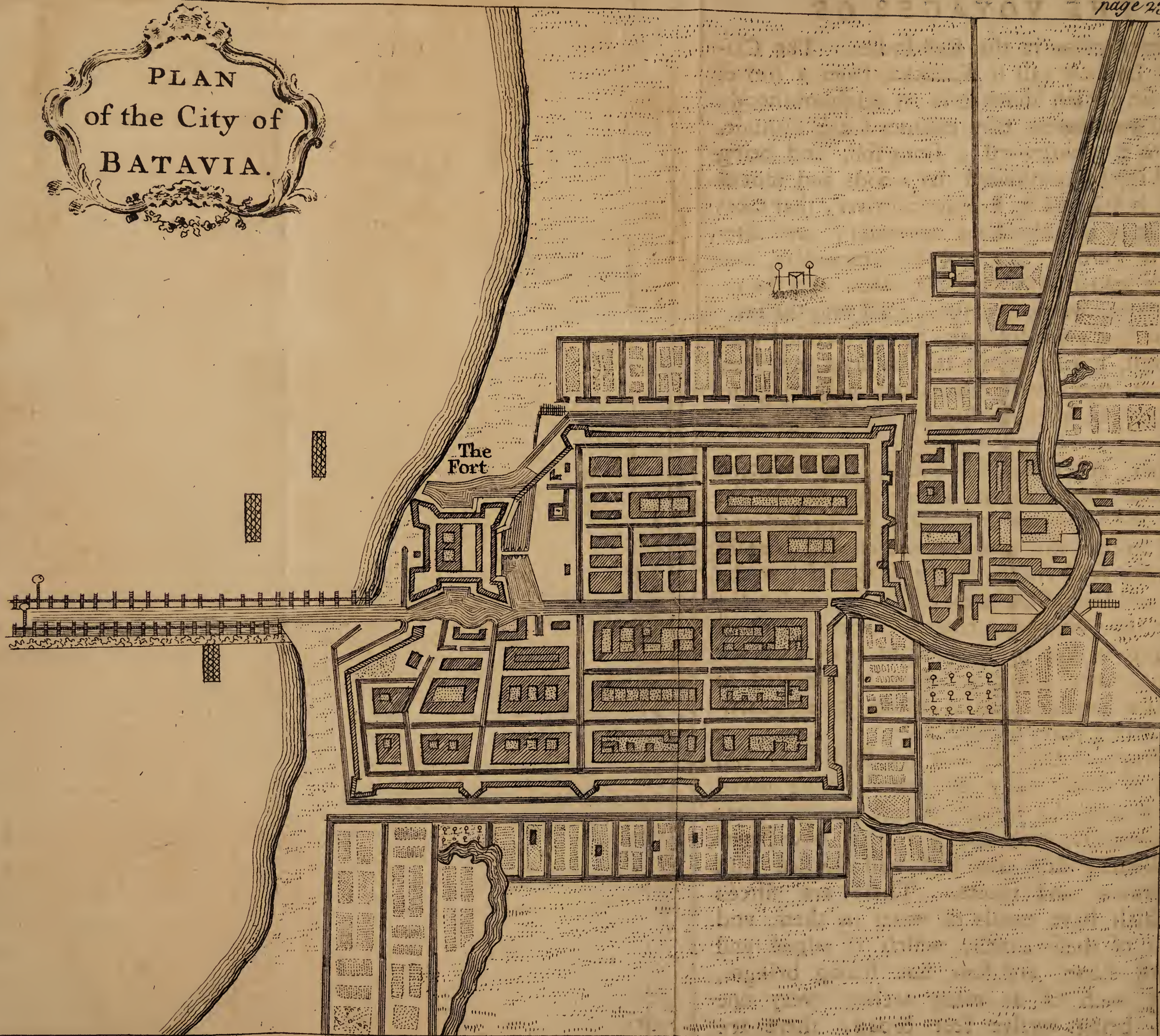
Batavia is of a quadrangular figure, fortified with a stone wall, having twenty-two bastions and four great gates, two whereof are extremely magnificent, being the workmanship of the famous John Lifting.

The bay, in which it is situated, has seventeen or eighteen islands in and about it, whereby the violence of the waves and winds is checked and broken; so that the harbour, which will contain above a thousand vessels, is one of the safest in the world; and several barks may lie close under the banks of the river, in a muddy bottom, without anchors: it is shut up every night at nine o'clock by a chain, thro' which no ship is permitted to pass without paying a certain custom, being guarded by a strong party of soldiers.

The streets of this city run in a strait line, and are most of them thirty feet broad, being paved with brick near the houses, which are handsome and commodious, each having a good flower-garden handsomely laid out, and well stocked with fruits, flowers, and plants. There are fifteen streets which have canals of water in them, and over one of these canals, which is edged and lined with stone, are four fine strong bridges, consisting each of as many arches, every one of which being twelve feet broad: there are  
fifty



PLAN  
of the City of  
BATAVIA.







fifty-six bridges in this city, besides many draw-bridges without the walls, made of wood.

The Cross church, which was built in 1640, being of solid stone, claims precedency of all the other buildings of Batavia; its steeple is beautifully adorned with iron work, the stone edgings in its front being very finely carved, and its top adorned with cherubims: however, these ornaments have been much hurt by time, and the sharpness of the air. The structure, upon the whole, is lightsome and lofty, the pulpit and seats are made of ebony, with some fine iron work round them. The vestry is of the last-mentioned wood, and the body of the church is furnished with five very fine branches brought from Holland. The foundation of another new church was laid before our author left this city, besides a third of an octagonal form erected in the castle in the year 1644, with a flat top, and the floor covered with white and blue stones handsomely polished.

The town-house stands in the center of the city; it is built of brick two stories high, the ascent to the second story being by a flight of winding stone-stairs. The great gate of this structure, over which is a stone gallery, bounding the upper-hall, is of the Corinthian order; the windows are well glazed, lofty, and fenced with iron bars. In this house the courts of justice meet, as well as the senators, the directors of hospitals, and other public buildings; criminals are executed upon a scaffold erected before it for that purpose: the officers of justice, and the prison-keeper have their lodgings within the inner court, which is surrounded with a high wall and a double row of stone pillars.

In the hospital for the sick, which stands upon the banks of the great river, you will sometimes see two or three hundred poor patients, who are provided with every necessary in a plentiful manner,



ner, at the company's expence, being supplied with apothecaries, surgeons, ministers, and other officers, who have good salaries, and are regulated by three of the principal people of Batavia, one of whom takes it in his turn, weekly, to examine into the state of the hospital, than which nothing can be more neat. The minister, besides visiting the sick, is obliged to say prayers twice a-day; and there is a sermon preached on sundays, at which those who are able are obliged to attend.

There is a place called the spin-house, erected for the confinement of lewd women, where they are kept continually at work, being, on the neglect of it, very severely punished.

On the brink of the river stand two slaughter-houses, supported by wooden piles; by which means the offals of the beasts that are killed are easily disposed of in the river: here they kill twice a week, and every butcher has a particular stall, in which he kills his meat, being obliged to pay a tenth penny excise for every beast, according to the value put upon it by the farmer; beef and pork, in our author's time, sold at four-pence a pound, and mutton much dearer.

Opposite to the town-house, in the same square, is a structure divided into shops, which are occupied by the Chinese, at the rate of three crowns a month each shop; in these they sell all sorts of cloaths ready made, and stuffs and callicoets.

To the eastward of the town-house is a range of stables built of brick, and paved with stones; so that the filth and horse-dung may be easily washed away, wherein are kept above one hundred saddle-horses, which are the property of the Dutch East-India company, besides coach and cart-horses; those which are brought from Persia and Arabia are the best; there are some few brought from Japara, which are broken-mouthed. Near this place

place is a very handsome menagery, wherein horses are broke by persons who are maintained for that purpose : they are generally natives of Persia ; and 'tis remarkable that they break their horses without whip or spur.

The Chinese hospital is a neat brick building, maintained by a tax laid upon marriages, burials, and public shews, as well as the voluntary contributions of Chinese merchants. In this house the sick and superannuated natives of China find a refuge, at least from absolute misery.

There is also in the same street a foundling-hospital, and a little farther off a structure, in which all the artificers in the company's service are lodged, and here for some time our author took up his habitation. In this house the surveyor-general of the workmen, who keeps under him two clerks, has handsome apartments ; here also such criminals as have been condemned to chains, are kept to hard labour ; the doors are shut up every night at nine o'clock, and a strong guard of slaves posted at them to prevent any disorder : there is a surgeon maintained to attend these people at the public expence, and a schoolmaster, who fulfils the duty of a chaplain, saying prayers constantly morning and evening.

The company maintain a great many people, by means of their rope-yard, wherein the workmen enjoy an agreeable shade from a row of nut-trees planted on each side of it.

To the west of the rope-yard stand the company's warehouses for mace, cinnamon, cloves, &c.

The fish-market of Batavia stands on the west side of the river ; supported by strong wooden piles, covered with pantiles. About the middle of it is the dwelling-place of a certain officer, who stops all fishing-boats, and immediately obliges them to sell their cargo by public cant to the fairest



fairest bidder. The purchasers are Chinese, who pay the officer two-pence in the crown for every bargain he makes, and they have their different stalls at the rate of two rials a month. This market is kept open from ten in the morning till four in the afternoon: the fishmongers, at other hours, are to be found behind the flesh-market on the river side.

All sorts of grain are sold in the corn-market; a measure of rice, containing something more than thirteen pounds, being rated at six-pence: this measure is called ganting. All the corn venders are obliged to have their measures and weights examined twice a year, and marked by a public officer, appointed to this duty, in the presence of two aldermen; and for each of these marks they pay two-pence.

You may buy a fowl in the market, near the new bridge, for three-pence: here you may also be furnished with dried fish, eggs, and coarse earthen ware.

From four in the morning till late at night, there is scarcely any passing, the crowds are so very great, thro' the fruit-market, which is stocked with all sorts of herbs, fruits, &c. by the Chinese and negroes, who are obliged to pay the hundredth penny excise.

Besides, the public Latin and Greek school, which is a plain handsome building, there are many private academies for the instruction of youth, and the natives are pretty forward in learning.

A printing-house was established in the year 1667; which has met with good encouragement.

In the castle, which is a quadrangle line upon a flat, are apartments for all the members of the council of the Indies, as well as for most of the company's servants; such as the general book-keeper, the secretary of the great council, &c. but  
the







*The Governor of Batavia's Palace.*

*J. Jefferys sculp*



the palace of the governor, which is within the walls of the castle, is extremely magnificent.

It is a brick edifice, exceeding in height all the other buildings of this city, and an iron ship, curiously wrought, which crowns the turret instead of a weather-cock, may be seen a great way at sea. The great hall is ornamented with bright polished armour, besides ensigns, flags, and other spoils, taken from their enemies by the Dutch, in several engagements: it is here that the governor hears and redresses complaints, and generally attends at prayers, which are said every night.

Through a pleasant garden, in the center of which stands a tamarind tree, remarkably high, there is a passage by a little gate belonging to the curtain, over a bridge to a summer-house, built upon piles, in the middle of the water, which commands a full view of the harbour, and takes in a prospect of the castle as well as of some part of the town.

From the east corner of this summer-house runs a gallery leading to the chamber of accompts, which is floored with grey stone, and has a flat roof; herein most of the company's book-keepers and clerks are boarded at an easy rate, by the treasurer. On the south-side of the castle live the members of the great council; the governor of the marine department has a house on the north side, and near his are the lodgings of the physicians, surgeon, apothecary, factors, &c. here are also public magazines of provisions, wine, Brunswick, Dutch butter, oil, vinegar, &c. and gun-powder and artificial fire-works are kept in vaults underneath.

There are forts erected all round the city, tho' at some distance, to protect the inhabitants of the plain from the incursions of their neighbouring barba-



barbarians, who, before these were erected, used often to come down and plunder their plantations.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Of the public buildings of Batavia continued; of the inhabitants of Batavia; of the boats of the Javanese; of the poisoned arrows of the people of Macassar; of the religion of the people of Temor and their arms; of the government and civil power of Batavia, as well as the state of the church.*

THE country all about may be laid under water by sluices upon occasion, and its fertility appears by its flourishing rice and sugar-fields, as well as its blooming gardens and fragrant orchards.

There are four gun powder-mills, a corn-mill, a paper-mill, and a mill for sawing of wood, erected upon one of the branches of the river; which are all turned by the force of the water.

The public pest-house was built some years since, to prevent the progress of an infection which carried off numbers of people; and here the sick were provided with lodging, diet, and suitable remedies.

Besides the foot-garrison, there is a troop of horse maintained at the company's expence, as a guard to the general. These have great privileges, and make a very handsome appearance on Sundays.

The inhabitants of Batavia are a compound of divers nations, among whom the Dutch are the most powerful and wealthy. Next to these are the Chinese, who are perhaps the most ingenious cheats in the world. They farm excises and custom, and have a finger in every thing from whence they can derive profit. They live under a governor of their own, and dress in a silk or calico coat, with wide sleeves,

sleeves, as they do in China, with their hair long and neatly twisted; for here they pay no respect to the Tartarian edicts, which in China oblige the natives to cut all their hair off, excepting one lock.

The Malaysans are next in riches and trade to the Chinese; they also live under a governor of their own; their houses being covered with leaves, and planted round with coco-trees. They wear light silks and calicoes, and are continually chewing betel, or sucking tobacco, through lackered sugar-canes.

Most of the pedlars are Moors, who have little stalls in the neighbouring market-towns, and sell coral and glass-beads about the streets. Some of them have small vessels in the river, wherein they import free-stone from the adjacent islands.

In one part of the suburbs live many natives of Amboyna, in houses made of wooden planks, not very low, and indifferently carved. Their women wrap a piece of calico round their bodies, and another round their shoulders, leaving their arms bare.

The natives of Amboyna are ill-looking, daring, and quarrellsome; they have long black hair, and are armed with scymitars and shields of an oval figure: they are most of them carpenters, and reckoned very dextrous in their way.

The houses of the Javanese are built of bamboo-cane; they maintain themselves by husbandry, planting of rice, building of boats, and fishing; and their boats are extremely swift, turned up in the manner of horns, and for their expedition called flying-boats.

The Mardiikers or Topassers live both within and without the city: they are a people of easy disposition, accommodating themselves, without much difficulty, to the customs and manners of the people



among whom they live. They have divers occupations, dress something like the Dutch, and their houses are well built of stone, arched and covered over with tiles, having courts before the doors, planted with all sorts of Indian flowers. Behind the house they breed their pigs, pigeons, fowls, &c.

In the island of Macassar grows a tree, something like that of the clove, in the juice of which the soldiers of Macassar dip their arrows, which thence acquire a quality so very poisonous, that they kill without remedy, whatsoever living thing they chance to touch. A certain root growing in the same island has however sometimes been found an antidote against this poison; and human ordure, immediately swallowed, being one of the most nauseous recipes that can be administered, has been sometimes known to avail, by provoking violent vomiting. The arrows used by the soldiers of Macassar are about a foot long, pointed at one end with a very hard wood, and at the other with the tooth of a certain fish. In the island of Temor, mahometanism and the Roman catholic religion have lately made some progress. The inhabitants were formerly pagans, barbarous, and warlike, armed with swords of sandal wood, wherewith they can cut a man thro' at one blow.

The inhabitants of divers isles near Macassar are called Bokjes or Bougisses: they go for the most part naked, excepting a piece of stuff or cloth tied about their middle, and hanging down to their knees. They assisted the Dutch in their wars against the king of Macassar, after which their queen had a magnificent palace built upon the brink of the river of Batavia, adorned with flower-gardens, vineyards, and walks, appointed for her reception.

The government of Batavia is settled upon the same basis as that of Holland, being regulated by six colleges or councils; in the first of which all matters

matters of state are transacted under recognizance of the members of the council of the Indies, over whom the governor-general of the Indies presides. In the second council all matters relating to the public revenue, customs, and the treasury, are debated and decided. The secretary of this council has the care of what money arises from public fines, of which he must give an exact account, and he is obliged to keep a register of all the transactions of this assembly without any reward but his salary. The door-keeper attends while the council is sitting, being distinguished by a stick and a silver shield, on which is impressed the great seal of the council. His business is to summon in their turns such persons as are cited to appear before the council. The third council consists of the aldermen and senators, and herein are determined all disputes arising between private citizens and the company's servants. This college also takes cognizance of the regulations of public buildings, and the chief justice has herein a decisive sentence in criminal causes.

The fourth council consists of overseers of the orphans hospital.

In the fifth council presides a member of the council of justice, who licenses marriages, granting none to men under twenty-one years, nor to women under eighteen; neither permitting marriages between Christians and Pagans, or Mahometans; nor allowing Hollanders to wed with natives who cannot speak Dutch.

All matters relative to the soldiery and militia are determined in the sixth council of Batavia, which is called the council of war.

The ecclesiastical government of this city is managed by ministers, church-wardens, and overseers of the parish.



The citizens have many pleasant retreats and gardens without the gates of Batavia.

On the top of a mound of earth, underneath which lie the bones of a Chinese governor, enclosed with brick work, stands a cup upon a table, wherein the Chinese sometimes put money, and other times victuals, as an offering to the soul of the deceased. It stands in the midst of a grove of beautiful trees, without side the New Gate.

## CHAP. IX.

### *Of plants, fruits, and other vegetables of Batavia.*

ALL sorts of vegetables that are natural to Holland, Persia, and Surat, thrive here extremely well.

For bloody fluxes, which are common to the climate, they have the best astringents. Their radishes are better than in Europe, some of them boil like turneps, and others of them are pickled by the Chinese. Their trefoil and clover is extremely fine, as well as their asparagus, endives, lettuces, and a sort of mandragora, called by the Italians belladone, which is reckoned efficacious in fevers.

All along the roads, about Batavia, grows a certain plant, with small branches, not unlike hops, spreading plentifully on the ground, or rising as tall as our French beans; whose leaves resemble those of rose trees. The flowers are of a lovely sky-blue, yellow in the middle, but the fruit is not regarded; being of a rank taste.

Indian beet grows in the gardens of Batavia, its leaves resemble sorrel; some of the flowers are white, others a mixture of purple and green. All sorts of garden herbs are in great esteem among the

the Indians, who believing the transmigration of souls, will not eat the flesh of any living creature; neither will they eat herbs of a red colour, because they resemble blood.

The fruit called fokky-fokky, is shaped like a pear; it is sometimes a yard long, and as thick as a man's arm. It contains many small seeds, and the rind is so thin, smooth, and bright, that the face is to be seen therein as in a looking-glass. This fruit is one of the best and most esteemed in all the Indies, being of a delicious taste, very nourishing, and good against the gravel.

In the plains of Java grows a tree, whose fruit is called jamboes by the Malaysans, and by the Dutch sloes, or small plums. These are very astringent, and the juice of them taken inwardly is good against the bloody flux.

The fruit called cubeber and quabeb, grows in the isle of Java only. The tree which bears this fruit, is something smaller than our apple-tree, whose leaves and branches it resembles. It is so much esteemed by the Javanese, that they will not permit it to be transported unboiled, for fear it should be cultivated in some other places. The fruit is round, smaller than pepper, of a dark brown colour, and if pinched with the nail, emits a certain liquor smelling like cloves. The Javanese and other Indians steep them in wine, in order to warm their stomachs and excite them to venery.

Affafetida is much used by the Javanese in their fauces, by reason of its strong scent, which causes the East India ships bound to Java and other Indian ports to bring a considerable quantity of it hither from Persia; and they exchange it here for some other commodity, the product of Java.

Cardamome, an excellent spice, grows also in the isle of Java. 'Tis of a pleasant hot taste,

M 3                      grateful



grateful to the stomach, and promoting urine.

Monlit-belek grows in the gardens of Batavia. This plant steeped in vinegar is a good remedy against St. Anthony's fire.

Indian forrel, which has no resemblance to that in England, is eat by the Malaysans among their sallads, and its leaves mixed with saw-dust of sandal wood, &c. is made into a cataplasm for the tooth-ach.

The plant called nardus, grows in great plenty about Batavia. It is steeped in vinegar, and then made into a syrurp with sugar; which syrurp cures the stings of serpents and scorpions, when applied outwardly, and taken inwardly at the same time.

Pyzang or Indian figs, grow on a tree, the trunk of which rises, in the space of six months, twenty or thirty feet high. The circumference is about four feet, and it is so soft, that it may be cut like a cabbage stalk. It spreads its branches very loftily, bearing leaves of a foot and half broad, and six and seven feet in length; green on the uppermost side, and of a dark colour underneath. The fruit is like a cucumber in shape, and, when ripe, yellow inside and out. Neither tree nor fruit produces any seed, but a very handsome flower as large as an ostrich's egg. The fruit grows in clusters, wherein are contained a hundred and sometimes two hundred figs. They are sometimes dried in the sun, and their taste is as pleasant as the Portuguese figs. The Dutch esteem them mightily fryed with butter and eggs. Thus dressed, they are accounted nourishing and opening. Raw they are an astringent, and are nauseous to the stomach, but are not disagreeable if plucked before they are quite ripe.

This fruit cut thro' the middle, appears stamped with the figure of a cross. The leaves of the Indian figs are made use of in packing of goods, instead

instead of matting. They serve for dishes, napkins, and drinking-cups in many places; and our author tells us, that in the isle of Buro, they preferred drinking out of the fig-leaf to the use of glass. It is a tree that thrives best in a fat soil, and requires but little cultivation. Some affirm it to be the fruit brought out of the land of Promise, into the camp of the Israelites, by the spies; others are of opinion that with the leaves of them, Adam and Eve covered their nakedness after the fall; and some casuists pretend to maintain, that they were the forbidden fruit, whence they are called paradise apples.

The bambo grows all over Batavia, being strait reeds, clove in two at the upper end, and having no root fastened in the ground, but grow without the least portion of earth from the surface of the water, having on the bottom a thick knob, from whence sprout forth small twigs like threads, which being nourished by the air, bring forth leaves and flowers. Its flowers are white, having five long leaves, somewhat crumpled, not unlike white lillies; they have also a very odoriferous scent, and a yellow seed within. The leaves sprout forth at the extremity of the twigs, bending downwards.

The flower called by the Malayans *borago soefan*, by the Javanese *bumbang ungo*, and *lienhoa* by the Chinese, the Portuguese call *fule de botano*, i. e. the button flower, from its resemblance to a button. It is much cultivated in the gardens, by reason of its pleasing purple colour, which remains even after its being dried; but it has no scent.

The leaves, flowers, and scent of the white sweet briar of Batavia, resemble those of our rose; it was brought hither from Persia by the Dutch, who from it distil an essence like rose water.



The jakka tree grows as high as our oak, the upper side of the leaves are green, the other side blue; the fruit, which is rough like the pine apple, springs from the stem, without any flavour, weighing sometimes nine or ten pounds, and being yellow when ripe; when cut, it appears to have certain divisions like those of an honey-comb, each containing a kernel, of a yellowish colour and an agreeable taste, about as big as the joint of a man's thumb. Too much of this fruit is unwholesome if eaten raw, but boiled like a chesnut, they are more easily digested, and a provocative to venery. The jakka is not only common in the isle of Java, it is also found in Ceylon on the Malabar coast.

In all the gardens about Batavia, is found a tree, growing sometimes to the height of twelve feet, having thick oily leaves, white on the extremities, but yellow near the stock, and sometimes stained with red spots; from whence springs the flower of siampin, or of camboja, for so it is called by some naturalists; the scent whereof, tho' stronger, is not so sweet as our May-flower. The wood is grey.

Katfiapiri sprouts out of a pale green bud, which grows upon a tree, something higher than the palm, with larger leaves. These flowers, on account of the sweetness of their smell, are sometimes sold for two pence a piece.

The rice-flower has a white leaf, streaked within, and a pointed sprout in the middle.

The pompion is a sort of gold coloured apple, the inside of which is red, and tastes not unlike a cherry. Upon the whole, they resemble an orange, but exceed it infinitely in bigness; a single pompion weighing ten or twelve pounds. This fruit continues almost all the year round,  
and

and will keep four or five months after it is gathered.

The mango-fruit rises out of a white flower, which springs from a small twig, that shoots out of a tree, every way as large as the English oak. They are rather used for pickling than any thing else; being somewhat crabbed in taste, tho' pleasing to the eye. The mango, moderately used, is good against the bloody-flux, and mixt up with eggs, butter, and sugar, is grateful to the palate, and lies light upon the stomach.

The mangostan is one of the most delicious fruits to be found in India. It is a species of apple, growing on a tree something like a plum or mulberry tree. On the top of the apple is a coronet with several points, equalling the number of kernels contained in the fruit, which runs from six to eight. It is a great cooler, and scarcely any body was ever known to have surfeited by eating of it. It is accounted medicinal in agues.

This last mentioned fruit, and kattaper, are the only ones that our author remembers to have seen in the Indies at any time, quite bare of leaves.

The kattaper, or Indian almond, is a kernel, growing within a hard shell, covered by a hairy substance, which turns yellow and shrinks as the fruit ripens. The tree that bears it is tall and leafy, with a number of branches that afford a very agreeable shade.

The Japonese rattan grows here wild: it seems to be a sort of reed, being divided into joints, and creeping in spiral lines round the highest trees, where they sometimes die for want of air. They bear a kind of brown fruit, of a white colour, but unpleasant taste. Of these, the Chinese make a good pickle, and draw from them an oil, which is said to be a help in the cure of wounds. These rattans are much used in India for walking-sticks.



The tree called by the Portuguese and Dutch *arrec*, bears a fruit which is full of seed, very palatable, and resembling, when opened, a rotten medlar, emitting a scent like rose-water; which is prodigiously reviving. It is about the bigness of a Chinese apple, of a bright yellow, beautifully shaded with orange.

Dates, when green, are extremely delicious. The tree that bears it continues all the year in full vigour. There is a male and female date-tree, the latter of them being the only one that bears fruit. They have male and female trees of many other sorts in the isle of Java, which are not worth mentioning.

Some of the water-melons of this island are white, but the red ones are vastly better. The plant that bears them, creeps along the ground, and one of these fruits is sufficient for three or four persons. They are extremely refreshing, and sharp in the stomach, being, if moderately taken, not at all hurtful.

The ripe anana is a very delicate fruit, and if sliced into Spanish wine, has many more good qualities than when eaten raw. The smell of this fruit, when first plucked, is beyond conception fragrant. It tastes something like our strawberry, and ought therefore to be eaten very carefully; a surfeit of them ulcerating the mouth and palate, and often giving a mortal bloody-flux. This fruit was first brought into the East Indies from Brasil; the plant producing it loves the shade, and thrives best in a fat soil. Sometimes a single anana will weigh five or six pounds; below and round about the stock of which, shoot forth certain carved leaves or aloes, and this is called the crown of the the anana; which is better known to us by the name of the pine-apple. They are served up at most great tables as a desert, and have of late

late years been produced in England, and other parts of Europe, by the means of hot beds.

Among other Indian plants of great benefit to the human species, is the betel, called by the Malayans, *siry*; and so generally used in India, that one would think there was no living without it: for it is served up at every visit. It generally produces a giddiness in the head of those who have not been accustomed to take it, but this is soon cured by rubbing the gums with salt. It is a great astringent, and provokes spitting, being chewed folded up with a small quantity of lime and arek, staining the lips red, cheering the spirits, closing the upper orifice of the stomach, diffusing the vapours arising from drunkenness, correcting a stinking breath, curing the tooth-ach, and fastening the teeth, which it blackens, an ornament much esteemed by the Indians; yet if chewed in too great a quantity, it corrodes and loosens the teeth; chewed without lime, it gives the spittle a green colour, and people of fashion mix with it camphire, musk, or ambergrease.

The areka, so called by the Indians, named *tan-fel* by the Arabians, and *pynang* by the Malayans, is a nut, produced by a species of palm, according to some naturalists, which is well known all over India, growing as high as the coco, with a body not above six or seven inches diameter, which tho' the sport of every blast, is seldom or ever seen to break. The inside wood is spongy, but of the bark, which is very hard, they make laths, wherewith they cover their houses. The fruit, when pulled, which is very hairy, resembles an acorn, but is four times as large; but when cleared from its outside hairy coat, it appears not bigger than a nutmeg.

Round the *pynang*-trees, which are planted in many places in regular rows, there often winds



to a great height, a plant, the leaves and branches of which are like the beetle, and the fruit being green and chequered, containing a white kernel with small seeds, is as long as a palm, but scarce an inch thick, and often used with the kernel of the pynang and calcined oyster shell, instead of betel, being much more esteemed among people of fashion, because it is scarcer.

There has been a tree, transplanted hither from the Moluccas, called dap-daff or dap-dap, which is of a pleasant taste; a medium between sweet and sour, and of a cooling quality. They are much hurt by pismires. The kernel of it, which is inclosed in a white rind, is of a delicious taste; and the fruit itself, which is bent like a cucumber, is of a reddish colour, mixed with oval spots of black; and the skin of it ragged.

The takkatak, called by the Dutch the red currant, from which it is very different, tho' in some respects resembling it, grows in clusters upon a very high tree, and is of a sourish taste; yet in great esteem at Batavia.

The tree called by the Dutch and Portuguese moringo, and by the Malayans ramongy, requiring very little labour to rear it, is found almost at every door; the leaves of it, which are cooling and agreeable, are often used with meat instead of spinage; it has a white blossom with yellow seeds, and the fruit, which grows in long round husks, like French beans, has many good qualities.

The tree called torre by the Malabars, rum-bangjuri by the Javanese, and the husk-tree by the Dutch, is by the inhabitants reckoned a sovereign remedy against the bite or sting of a serpent, when mixed with a little salt.

The devils leaf, so called, because it over-runs every place wherein it is produced, is said to be good against many disorders. There are two sorts of







*Indian Method of Bleeding.* J. Jefferys sculp



of them, one having green leaves, and the other sprouting up to a height of twelve or fourteen feet; with leaves streaked like our red cabbage. It produces a fruit which is good eating, and resembles a chestnut.

The broad nomerado, called by the Malayans bajandierdier, is greatly esteemed for the beauty of its leaves, which partake of all the colours of a tulip. There is another sort of the nomerado, sold by the Chinese in the markets of Batavia, either to be boiled with meat, or stewed by itself; in both which cases 'tis very agreeable.

The Javanese cotton-tree grows pretty high, spreading its branches out on all sides; and at the extremities of which, grow a fruit, about the bigness of a hen's egg, two of them generally hanging together, which turns brown as it ripens; when it opens and discovers the cotton, which is used in stuffing of bolsters, beds, quilts, &c. and produces a considerable profit. It is not long enough either for combing or weaving, and if it chances to catch fire, scarcely any water can quench it.

The flowers of the jambo tree, which by the Portuguese is called rosado, have a prodigious fine bloom, and are greatly esteemed in salad. The fruit of it is of an oval figure, growing in clusters, some red and some white, of a very sweet smell, being good upon the stomach, if stewed with wine and sugar. The jambo-tree does not bear till the fourth year, after which it produces annually three crops.



## CHAP. X.

*The account continued of the plants, fruits, and trees of Batavia.*

THE fruit called by the Dutch a wild plum, and by the Portuguese nalyka, is sour upon the tongue, and tho' in no great estimation, yet is not intirely insipid.

During the time that acorns fall from the Canary or Indian oak, the rangers of the forest keep a strict look out for wild boars, which repairing in great numbers to feed upon the acorns, are easily shot; so that, during that season, wild boar's flesh is cheap in the Batavian market. Within the acorn, which is so hard that it must be broken with a hammer, there is a white well-tasted kernel, covered with a thin skin.

There is a flower, found in the gardens of Batavia, called fulo di madre; in scent and figure, it is like our camomile, but whether it partakes of the same medicinal virtues, Mr. Nieuhoff does not take upon him to assert.

The four lights is a flower springing from a small bud of a fine red colour; it is something like our gilliflower, being composed of four carved curling leaves, on which is streaked the shape of a heart; it is rather ornamental than useful, for it fades very soon.

The alli is a flower of a pale green colour without, and white within; it rises from a large bud, and is found in the ditch between Ansjol, and Jacatra; indeed there is scarce a ditch or stream hereabouts, to which there is not some sort of flower peculiar, the qualities and nature whereof have not been yet discovered.

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The basjan is a kind of wild mango, being of a green colour, about the bigness of a lemon; within it are certain kernels, not very palatable, being of a harsh bitter taste; the scent of them is so very strong, that the odors of every flower and herb in the market at the same time are therein buried. The tree bearing this fruit is pretty to look at, having a dark green leaf something larger than those of the almond tree.

Here is also found a species of nightshade or henbane, which is thought to excite madness, but not with any certainty: it is a plant called by the Javaneze and Malaysans ratfiobonk, duroa by the Indians, and dutter by the Dutch; it grows wild in the woods to the height and thickness of a red cabbage, producing flowers shaped like a bell, white within and yellow without, which open in the morning and close up at noon; to these succeeds the fruit, which is about the bigness of a palm, with a green rind covered with thorny prickles, and filled with yellow seed.

The highest tree in the gardens of Batavia is the kananga, round which the betel often winds, they being planted near each other generally for that purpose. Its leaves are of a very sprightly green colour, and the monstrous bats with which this climate abounds, are so fond of its crooked branches, they sometimes hang thicker round it than leaves; however, they are scared not only from this tree, but from the other products of the garden, by having small wind-mills placed in the uppermost branches of it.

The oak of India is as durable as any that can be found in Europe, being not only proof against worms, but also against mice, which gnaw a passage thro' almost every other sort of wood. The leaves of this tree, boiled in water till one half of it



it be consumed, is administered often inwardly by the natives, with success, in pleurifies.

The fruit, which the Dutch call a water pompion, and the Javanese katolas, grows on a small creeping branch, that spreads even over the tops of the houses, and, with the help of the bamboo cane, the Indians form arches of it over their baths, to repel the scorching heat of the sun. Of the fruit of this creeper, there are two species, one growing to the usual size of pompions; another scarcely exceeds the bigness of a small melon, or cucumber, and this last is the best; the rind of this fruit often inclines to yellow, but the seed and whole inside of it are white.

The champaka of Siampaka, has a large veined wrinkled leaf; it grows to the height of the peach or pear tree; and from its branches, which grow in a straight line from the tree, bending at their extremity, springs a flower not unlike the orange blossom of Spain, the scent of which, partaking of the sweetness of the rose and the violet, is inconceivably fragrant; with these flowers, which are of two sorts, the green and orange-coloured, the Indians adorn their garlands, and the women dress their hair, and it is a principal ingredient in the celebrated ointment called borbory; this tree also produces a sort of fruit, clustering and coloured like grapes, but good for nothing.

There are several sorts of beans found in Batavia, among which the Moors bean, tho' neglected by the Dutch as distasteful, is much esteemed by the Chinese; they run up to a great height, being commonly planted for that end, near the pynang tree; the husk of it is about a foot long, and an inch broad.

The bean of the Gondola, which runs high, and affords a good shade, will keep three or four years;

years ; its leaves stewed or boiled are reckoned very cooling.

The kadjang of the Javanese, called by the Chinese petau, is a large wholesome pea, of great service in ships provision, being very grateful to the stomach, either served up with bacon or buttered.

One of these, put into a pot of earth, and carefully watered, will in twenty-four hours sprout up and yield an excellent fallad.

The makandou, is a fruit resembling the pineapple, but neither is it so hard, nor pointed at the end ; besides, when it is ripe, being then of a yellowish colour, it is quite tasteless and insipid ; the Malaysans use it roasted in the ashes, as a remedy against the bloody flux, the pleurisy, and asthma.

The leaves of a certain tree that grows in this country, and resembles ash, are good to cleanse and prepare wounds for healing ; and the juice of them pressed out, is excellent against worms ; its fruit, if squeezed, emits a scent stronger and more disagreeable than assa-fœtida ; and therefore it is applied to the nostrils of such persons as are troubled with fits ; in the heart of this fruit is a nut, containing a kernel of a binding quality.

A decoction of the daulentes, which over-runs the woods, stopping up the passage, wherefore they must be carefully grubbed out, is a remedy against a rheum, and a provocative of women's monthly terms. It has a leaf like the balsamina, and bears coronets of flowers like those of the elder-berry, which taste very bitter, and are endued not only with the scent but the virtues of the camomile.

The fruit called mangam, produced by a tree that flourishes upon the graves of the kings of Java, is as large as the coco, and said to be a better.



better antidote against poison, than the bezoar-stone, or Maldivé nut, &c. It is thought a great favour, if the king of Bantam, when he drinks to any body, first puts his cup upon this fruit.

The *sinbar-mangiram* of the Javanese, by the Malaysans called *teunida roufa*, springs not from any root, but from a sort of a lump growing under stones or hollow trees, and shooting out leaves on every side of it. It is very juicy and ever green; so that if one of the leaves happens to wither, another is produced in less than a day's time in the same place; this applied outwardly, allays tumours: it kills worms when laid to the navel, and taken inwardly, is a purgative.

The *fulo de tanke*, or flower of the lake, grows in every pool, to the height of a fathom or more above the surface of the water; when it first begins to open, it emits a most delightful smell; it seems to be a species of the water-lilly, and being reckoned cold in the third degree, the decoction of it is administered in burning fevers, frenzies, bloody fluxes, and other hot diseases; when the leaves, which are of a bright green colour, some of them as broad as the brim of a man's hat, fall off, there appears upon the stalk, a husk as big as a man's hand, wherein are found about thirty beans circularly placed, each of them enclosed in a particular coat, being about the bigness of an hazel-nut, like which, they in some measure taste, being pretty sweet; these nuts are counted phlegmatic, and are daily exposed to sale in the markets of Batavia.

The shoe-flower or *fulo de sapato*, is something like the common rose, and takes its name from yielding a juice when chewed, which is excellent for blackening shoes; a water may be distilled from this flower, which is reckoned good against raging fevers,

fevers, and outwardly applied to the forehead, promotes sleep.

There is also a species of this flower, of an isabella colour, growing upon a sort of briar, of which the inhabitants compose arbours; and its twigs are used in basket-making. A decoction of these leaves, after they have been steeped in vinegar, is good against a looseness, and outwardly applied, heals bruises.

The garden sage, rosemary, and some other herbs common in Europe, are soon killed here by the heat of the climate.

The fruit of the tree called lancen by the Portuguese and Dutch, and kakascan by the Javanese, grows in clusters as grapes do; it is something like a plum, the outside being a yellowish red hue, the inside, which is very luscious, tasting something like currant, being white; the skin of it must be peeled off, and the pulp sucked from the kernels, of which it has two or three; both the skin and kernels being bitter.

The karambolas, otherwise kamosia, or karra-belli, or chamarah, &c. grows on a tree as high as the common cherry tree, is a fruit shaped like a pumpkin, being yellow when ripe; and those of them that are right good, are unconceivably delicious: some of them are indeed sourish and astringent; when cut thro' the middle, a star is found figured within side of them.

The rambutan springs immediately from a green bud, the tree never bearing a flower; it hangs in clusters, of a purple colour, not unlike a chesnut; within it is a small stone, and the pulp has an acid agreeable taste.

There is a species of wild palm well known in Ceylon as well as Java, called the huntsman's tree, the fruit of which yields a syrup or sugar that is sold by the natives to the neighbouring countries,



tries. From this tree may be drawn a liquor of an intoxicating quality, which is sweet and palatable when boiled, otherwise it soon turns sour; the wood of it, which they are forced to split, it being too hard for the saw or axe, is very durable; of its twigs the Indians make bows, and the Chinese use the leaves, which are about three inches broad, and a yard long, instead of fans, to cool themselves. Upon the superficies of these leaves, the Malabars write letters with an iron pencil, in such a manner, that the characters are almost indelible, and these leaves they string together by a hole made in the top of each, one after another, in proper order till they have finished their subject. These are so very lasting, that water will not putrify them.

Nature scarcely affords a more beautiful sight than a row of the trees, when in blossom, the fruit whereof is called by the people of Java, *billimbing*; the flowers are red, of the lilly shape, and the fruit about three inches long and an inch thick, resembling a cucumber, quenching thirst, removing any ill taste from the mouth; and a syrup of its juice is prescribed by physicians in case of the blood or liver being overheated.

The Indian-house-leek is two inches long, full of seeds like barley, and tasting rather insipidly than otherwise; of its leaves and flowers, which are white and aromatic, is made a conserve which cheers the heart and prevails against the cramp; an extract of it is also prescribed as an antidote against putrefactions and poisons, and is administered particularly to those persons that have been wounded by an arrow or weapon dipped in the blood of the newt, called by the Dutch *gekko*, which is said to give a mortal infection.

The juice of the herb called by the Europeans *veronica*, and by the Javaneze *oribat matta*, allays inflammations

inflammations in the eyes, is good against consumptions and coughs, and is prescribed in cases of the gravel.

Of the root of the plant called by the Moors and Arabians *kolkas*, is made a sort of meal, which is often used instead of rice; but this root must be first sliced and steeped in water, therein to purge out a certain slime adhering to it, the nature whereof is poisonous. They are also boiled, the first decoction of them being thrown away, and then eaten by the Chinese and Malaysians, with pepper, vinegar, and oil of coco. The people of Batavia, when besieged by the Dutch in 1629, being reduced solely to subsist upon this root, were swept away in numbers by the bloody flux, of a most pestiferous nature.

In the stalk of the hound's foot of Batavia, there is a milky juice, a few drops of which poured into the ear, cures any aching in that part. This plant grows wild, and is only used medicinally; the Chinese call it *kautsu*, and the Javanese *furoe*.

There are two sorts of the melancholy or night-tree; one sort bears a flower that expands itself immediately after sun-set, and at sun-rise shuts itself up; the other sort blossoms in the morning, and loses its leaves at night.

There are many other kinds of curious vegetatives natural to the soil of Java, a review of all which would be tedious and burthensome; wherefore we shall proceed to an account of its land and water animals, the latter of which we shall first examine and describe.



## C H A P. XI.

*Of the various sorts of fishes of Java.*

**T**HE flesh of the sea-porpoise or hog-fish, which is about sixteen inches long and seven broad, is white, and when boiled is very palatable; the skin of it is thick, and covered with scales that are almost impenetrable till it is dressed; it has large brown shining eyes, and a small mouth, with two rows of teeth; there is a sharp fin on its back, which it can erect at pleasure, and another under its belly, which is of a silver colour, changing, by degrees, upon the sides, to a yellow, and being quite brown on the back.

The Amboyna fish, so called because it is most peculiar to that island, is found sometimes in the market of Batavia, and is esteemed a great dainty; it is about a span long, resembling a perch both in shape and taste; the fins about its mouth are blue, and there are blue streaks under its head, but the sides of it are green and speckled. There is the shrinker, and the stone bream; the former takes its name from its shrinking upon the flesh of it being cut; the latter is often four feet long, having large eyes, a wide red mouth, and fins at the extremity of the tail; it is generally taken by a hook, being seldom or never caught in a net.

The bald-pate is very good eating; it is found in rivers as well as in the sea, and its name it derives from there being no scales upon its head or neck, whereas the body is covered with them; the colour of it is grey, the mouth is spotted with red, being very wide, and the eyes are yellow, large, and starting almost out of the head.

The

The sea bleak is not so long, but rather broader than the herring, like which fish, these swim in shoals, and are cured with salt; they are so plenty on the coast of Malabar, that the corn-fields are dunged with them, nor do they prove bad manure; it has a forked tail, with large eyes and a wide mouth, its back being green and its belly white.

The body of the turd fish is full of brown spots; the belly of it is blue, it delights in dirty places, whence it derives its name; and tho' it is very sweet and good eating, it is intirely neglected; it is very flat, being near a span long and the same breadth.

The yellow tail has sharp prominent teeth; it is as large as a bream, which it nearly resembles in shape; the belly of it is mostly blue, the fins of it are red, and the back and tail yellow.

The keelt fish is a sort of pike, with a mouth full of sharp teeth, and very bright eyes; it is about a foot and a half long, thick and plump, with a brown back and a purple tail and belly; it tastes well, and swims very swiftly.

The raven is a firm salt-water fish, about a span long, with a red back and tail, a yellow belly, and two yellow streaks on each side, which vanish by degrees; it takes its name from its mouth being something like a raven's bill.

The king fish is very voracious; its mouth is wide, and it feeds upon carrion; the belly of it is white, and its back and sides spotted brown: some of them are five feet long; their tails are forked, and they are called king's fish by way of pre-eminence, being reckoned one of the most wholesome, as well as most toothsome fishes of the Indies.

They have several sorts of eels upon this coast, many of which, tho' eaten by the natives, are thought to be species of water-serpents; the  
most



most remarkable among these is one that delights in rocky places, having a long head, and teeth very sharp, but so small they are scarce discernable; those who kill, or excoriate this eel, are seized immediately with a trembling, and often with a fainting, from whence it may be inferred, and not unjustly, that there is something poisonous in the nature of this fish, which it strives to exert when in the pangs of death.

The skin of the sea cock glisters like silver, and its fins are red, there being five long ones, of different dimensions, on its back; it has a forked tail of a brown colour, and the belly of it is yellow; it is rather a monster than a fish, being strangely shaped, very broad and thick, and the greatest part of it being head.

The grunting fish is a small plump fish, streaked with brown and yellow, and taking its name from a growling noise made by it when taken.

There is another kind of grunting fish, the body whereof is almost round, with a smooth brown skin, streaked with black; it has a short thick head, a large mouth and red eyes.

The sea-louse is a shell fish, seldom eaten by the Chinese or Javanese; it is about a foot long, very lumpy, with a large tail and several legs.

Across the middle of the back of the elephant's nose, which is prettily spotted, runs a broad streak; it is a thick salt-water fish, in taste like a smelt, but of an odd shape, with the under jaw as sharp as a pin.

The belly of the jacob everson is blue, the body of it is brown, and near the head and tail are many red spots; this fish is often ten feet long, and weighs, perhaps, four hundred pounds.

The crooked back, so called from its wry shape, is a very delicate fish; the tail and fins of it are yellow, and its skin is smooth, free from scales: the common length of it is four feet.

The horn fish is about a foot long, above one half of the body being taken up by the head, the mouth whereof is very small; it appears variously coloured, according to the different reflections of light from its body; its skin is very bright, its fins and tail yellow; the belly and the back inclining to a blue.

On the top of the head of the horn fish is one horn, and two underneath it, which are so very brittle and poisonous, that if they leave a wound, there are ten chances to one against its being healed at any rate.

The flounders of this country differ from ours only in their having teeth, wherewith they fasten upon any thing within their reach.

The flat-fish is about a foot long; it is found in fresh water, without scales, and its skin is smooth, shining like silver; it has a small fin on the back, one on each side, and a fourth under the belly, which it uses instead of a tail; it is full of small bones, therefore not much sought after.

The red fish, so called from being of a dark red colour, has a long sharp head, yellow eyes, a thick body, and a blue belly; it is a sort of bream, generally about four feet long.

The parrot-fish is seldom more than a foot long; it is firm and well tasted; its name it takes from the similitude of its mouth (the inside whereof is armed with teeth) to a parrot's bill; with this it not only bites off the hooks that happen to lay hold of it, but also cracks the shells of oysters and muscles, to come at the meat contained within them, whereof it is very fond; it is of a green colour, chequered with yellow, but more particularly near the head; the eyes of this fish are large and sprightly, being of a bright blue, encircled with yellow; its fins are of the same colour.



The fins and belly of the short-nose are yellow ; it tastes like a haddock ; the body of it is round, and the mouth lies just under its nose, which is extremely short.

The bone-fish has a forked tail and broad scales ; it differs from a carp no where but in the head ; it is disregarded because of its being very bony.

The sand-smelt is a well flavoured sea-fish, shaped like a whiting, with a round body and a yellow belly.

The pock-fish is very long, with a forked tail, and very sharp teeth ; it has no scales, but a very bright smooth skin, that assumes various colours from its various positions with respect to light, appearing sometimes to be red, sometimes blue, sometimes green, &c.

The pit-fish is very nimble, and will spring to a good distance ; it is of the size of a large smelt, with a round body, full of green and yellow spots ; the eyes seem ready to start from their sockets ; but the animal can draw them in considerably ; there are sharp pointed fins on its back, and it is a well-tasted fish, though delighting in muddy places.

The Chinese-fish is caught in fresh water ; it is round, and about a span long, having a long tail, small eyes, with a white belly and a green back.

The mullet, which is a very fine fish, being found only in some certain parts of India, is, when dried and cured, transported to others, when in season ; it is one of the most delicate fishes that can be eaten, except at a particular time of the year, when they are pestered with worms ; the skin of the mullet is white, beautifully chequered with purple ; this fish is a very nimble swimmer, and so active, that it will bound not only over the net, but even over the fishing-boat.

The sea-snipe is about five feet long, having a head like a hog, with large bright eyes, and a mouth like a snipe's bill; the body of it, from head to foot, is spotted variously, and covered with fins.

The koret is six or seven feet long, with eyes of a bright yellow, and fins that look like silver; the tail of it forked, and the belly blue, inclining to green: it is a great refreshment to sailors, being well flavoured and wholesome.

The sea-devils have eyes on one side, and the mouth in the concavity below the head; the tail is like that of a roach, with two teats on each side, pointed towards the end; the skin on the head is full of brown spots; some are near seven or eight feet long, but afford very coarse food.

The stip fish has a skin full of spots, is well tasted, and taken generally with hooks, near the isle of St. Vincent.

The sea pigeon has got its name from the resemblance of its head to that of a pigeon, and from its breast's protuberating like those creatures: this fish is without scales, but not without divers spots; it is but rarely caught, and none of the best tasted.

The sea hedge-hog is justly so called from its sharp fins about the head and mouth, which is round, and has very large eyes; they can't swim very swiftly, and consequently would soon fall a prey to other fish, were it not that nature has armed them with these pointed fins.

The suckers are blue, with bright yellow eyes, a smooth skin without scales; they have no teeth, but broad lips, wherewith they will suck and adhere so close to other fish, that they will rather be killed than let go their hold; they will stick so close to the shark, that they are often caught with them: they are eaten sometimes for want of better food, and are but of an indifferent taste.



Some sharks are eight, ten, or fourteen feet long; their skin is rough and sharp, and they have a double row of teeth, and some three or four rows, which are covered with the gums; their eyes lie forward near the mouth: it is a very pernicious fish, which oftentimes bites off an arm or a leg of those that divert themselves with swimming. The sharks bring forth their young ones alive, which follow the she shark wherever she goes, and in bad weather creep into her belly, and come out again after the storm is over. It is observable, that certain fishes, of a foot long, always swim after the shark, which are plainly to be seen in still weather.

The klip fish, or soldier's fish, is a kind of bream, but sometimes grows not above the length of a span; it is flat, and of a pale colour; on the back it has sharp fins like a roach, a sharp tail, and yellow eyes: it is one of the best fishes in the Indies, of a very delicious taste.

The sea-eagle is an odd kind of fish; it has a tail like a roach, with large fins like wings, a thick head, and tastes like a roach.

## CH A P. XII.

### *Of the fishes of Java continued.*

THE sea-cat is a round fish, a span in length, of a very odd shape; the hindmost part of the body being an oval lump, on which hangs the head; it has long and large eyes, a smooth skin, inclining to blue, but brown upon the belly. The entrails of this fish contain a certain gum, out of which the Chinese make their ink: they dry this fish in the sun, as the Dutch do the plaise, and it is in great request among the Indians, tho' of no easy digestion.

The

The leaping-fish is so called, because they leap and play continually upon the surface of the water; they are of the bigness of a herring, and are without fins on the back, from the head to the tail; they have a knotty head, and the body of a greyish colour, with black spots; but towards the belly they begin to be white; they look very fierce before they begin to leap: they are sea-fishes, and of a very good taste, especially broiled.

The fish pampus is above a foot long, and about a span in breadth; for the rest, in colour and shape not unlike our plaise, with a smooth skin; the eyes stand on both sides, and the mouth straight forwards; it is a well tasted fish, especially if dried and eaten as the Dutch do plaise.

Peyxe-kok, i. e. the fish-cock, so called by the Portuguese, because, when taken, it makes a noise or sound like a cock; it is taken near the isle of St. Vincent, and is but an indifferent fish.

The blowers are huge fishes, which appear now and then in the open sea; they have got this name from their drawing in of the water, and spouting it out again with great force into the air.

The white fish is about the bigness of a whiting, with a round hanging belly, a straight back and turned up mouth; its tail is forked; it has one large fin upon the back, and abundance of small ones betwixt the belly and the tail; it is full of streaks all over the body, and on the mouth it has two long teats; it is of a very good taste.

The five-finger fish has got its name from five black spots on each side, resembling the prints of fingers: its length is about a foot and a half, with a small head, large mouth, and brown pointed fins towards the tail; it is of a shining blue colour, mixed with purple, without scales; it is of a pretty good taste, and taken in the sea all over the Indies.



Karappa, or round-fish, is not unlike a whiting, of a very good taste ; it has but a small head and tail, but a pretty bulky belly ; below it has some fins not unlike those of an eel.

Some of the flying-fish are near as big as a corvette, of a bluish colour on the back, but inclining to a brown towards the tail ; they have large eyes, and large yellowish fins, resembling in shape our smelts ; they are of an agreeable taste, but not easy to be caught, except when they fly against the sails, which they frequently do, and so fall upon the ship's deck.

The fork-tail is a long and round fish, with a very long forked tail, whence it has got its name ; its head is not unlike that of a herring, with a long teat on the top of it, and two more below, near the mouth, like those of the shrimps, but larger ; they keep them close to the body when they are swimming ; they are of the bigness of a mackarel, but of no extraordinary good taste.

The bonitos are not unlike the corettes, but with lesser fins, and blue streaks, which vanish by degrees towards the tail ; the back is of a dark brown, and the belly white ; the eyes blue, surrounded with a yellow circle ; some are a foot and half long, and very bright when first taken, which is done without much difficulty, because they follow the ships, and are very greedy after a bait ; they eat best if they are salted a little before they are broiled.

The sword-fish has a very odd head, not unlike that of an owl, with a very wide mouth ; the skin is hard, the back grey, the belly white, without any scales : on each side of the sword, which is above five feet long, are twenty-seven teeth ; their whole length, including the sword, is generally twenty-five feet, and so thick, that scarce two men can grasp them : near the eyes they have two  
nostrils,

nostrils, thro' which they draw the water in and out.

The fish called siap by the Javenese, is a river fish in great request among them, and is taken in considerable quantities near Batavia.

The pyed-fish has got its name from its colour; its tail and fins being brown, spotted with pale blue spots; it is about a foot long, and pretty thick, without scales; the eyes, which are yellow, are surrounded by a blue circle; underneath the throat hangs a crop, extending itself to the tail; it has a little mouth, and on each side a yellow fin: it is in great esteem among the inhabitants, and well tasted, but contains a certain venomous matter, which must be carefully taken out when they are gutted.

The five-eyes have got their name from five black eyes, inclosed in yellow circles, which are in the fins near the tail; they are smooth and yellow, without scales, pretty thick, with a small head and sharp nose, which turns over the mouth, near which they have two red fins; they are caught in the rivers and are well tasted.

The sea-bat has got its name from its resemblance to a bat; it has two yellowish wings streaked with three blue streaks, a long tail, thick head, and large mouth; by its taste it seems to be a kind of thornback.

The gudgeons of Java are of the length of a finger, but scarce an inch thick; they are speckled with pale blue and other colours, without scales; they have small forked tails, are caught in the rivers, and are exceeding well tasted; there is another kind of them taken in the sea, in such prodigious quantities, that they sell a whole canoe full for eight-pence or ten-pence, and fatten their ducks and geese with them.



The Indian carps are taken in the rivers, being not in the least different from ours, either in shape or taste.

The sea monster is an odd kind of fish, having a knobby star upon the head, and upon that a certain excrescence resembling a bishop's mitre; from the sides of the head issue two fins of the same length with the body of the monster; it has a dreadful wide mouth, and a broad tail, wherewith it guides itself in swimming.

They have divers sorts of shrimps and cray-fishes in the Indies; and of the latter sort a certain kind which has teeth like a saw on the back; some of them are of that bigness as to weigh six pounds, of a delicious taste, and very wholesome, being accounted good for such as are troubled with the asthma, or spitting of blood. The sea shrimps are a salt-water fish, the biggest of which are near a span in length, and have shells like ours, of a fallow colour, with a red forked tail: out of the head come forth divers fins, on which hang two small thin horns; they are very well tasted, and five or six are sufficient for one man's meal.

The river shrimps are about the bigness of our sea shrimps, of a blue colour, with a small head and thick body; out of the head come two long fins, as fine as a thread; their shell is not so hard as the former, neither are they so well tasted. The rivers here afford also abundance of cray-fishes, which are taken in holes among the oysters; they are better tasted than our lobsters.

The sea-star is an odd shaped fish, with five branches, forming a star; they are of a pale red colour, an inch thick, covered with a knobby skin, underneath which are many small bones; they have a hole in the middle, thro' which they draw their sustenance; they are never to be seen

at

at sea, except in calm weather, and are taken and kept rather for curiosity's sake than any other use.

The sea crabs are in length about a span, of a most curious colour, the shell being speckled with yellow spots; besides which, they have three purple spots enclosed within white rings. Their claws are yellowish towards the body, afterwards white, and at the extremities of a high purple colour; their eyes are fixed without the head.

There is also a kind of blue crabs, some of which are a foot and a half long. They are of a purple colour, spotted with white. The claws are blue, and of a purple colour towards the body. Their eyes, like those of the former, stand a finger's length without the head. They are a salt-water fish, and very well tasted.

There is another kind of lobsters, not quite so large as the former, which run very swiftly. Their eyes stand likewise about two inches breadth without the head, especially whilst they are running, but otherwise they can draw them back, and lay them close under two fins. Their bodies are marbled with divers colours, the claws of a purple hue; behind, they have two small round and blue shells, edged with yellow. Some are of a considerable bigness, and of a very good taste.

There is another sort of sea crabs, of the same bigness as the blue lobsters, but easily to be distinguished from them by their colour, which inclines to a green; their claws are red, and their taste is exceeding delicious. Their eyes stand likewise an inch's breadth without the head. Some sea-crabs here are of a prodigious bigness, and, like all other shell-fish, best in the increase of the moon. Some crabs here cast their shells, and dur-



ing a certain season of the year, abide under ground till they grow again.

The Indian oysters are preferred before those of Europe.

The muscles of the Indies are like ours, but somewhat larger; the shell is brown both in and outside. There is another sort of muscles called tail muscles by our people, these are of a greenish colour. They have on that end where they open, two sharp horns, and on the other end, a pale yellow tail, wherewith they can fasten themselves in the mud. They are of the same taste, and used like ours, as well as those we commonly call St. James's muscles. Of oysters, they have also several sorts, the largest adhere to the rocks, others to the roots of the trees that grow in the water. They are all of a very good taste, and are either stewed with spices, or eaten raw with lemon juice and pepper.

Abundance of purple snails are found in the islands over against Batavia. The scallop or shell is of a yellow colour, of the bigness of a good citron, with various wreathings at one end. Within this shell is the snail, which is round, plump, and yellow, streaked with black. They are boiled and eaten by the Chinese, who have a way of polishing the shells, and pick out of the middle of the snail a certain purple coloured substance, which they use in making and colouring red ink. There is also another kind with green shells, streaked with black, white within, and of the size of a child's head. The snail is of the same colour, and not ill tasted. Another sort has a shell of a pale red colour, marbled with white, and curiously twisted, of the bigness of an orange; the snail is of the same colour, eaten as we do our perriwinkles, but hard of digestion.

The

The quallen are a certain product of the sea, of a mucilaginous substance, without head, tail, or entrails. They commonly are of the bigness of a trencher, tho' sometimes less. They have purple edges all round them, wherewith they swim. In the midst is a certain spot, which is sometimes white, at other times blue, wherein, perhaps, their victuals are contained. If they are forced ashore, they are disordered. The Chinese have a certain way of distilling arrack, or strong water, out of them, which is excessive hot, sharp, and unwholesome, causing exulcerations in the body. For if this substance happens to adhere to the bare skin of a man in swimming or otherwise, it burns with great violence, and raises blisters immediately.

The dorades, by some called sea breams, are a kind of dolphins. They have long and sharp fins on the back, and a very long tail; underneath the belly, they have three fins, the last of which extends as far as the tail. Some are four or five feet long, and rather broad than thick. They eat tolerably well, if salted before they are dressed; but are hard of digestion. They are sometimes taken with the hook, but not easily caught with the harpoon, by reason of their nimbleness, which is such, that they will sometimes leap five or six feet high above the water, after the flying-fish.

The Indies afford excessive long thornbacks, some of which are as big in circumference as a moderate table, and will suffice to dine forty people. They have vast long tails, but are of the same colour with ours, of the same taste, and hard of digestion; tho' the young ones are much better. Their fins, which are very large, are of a purple colour. All fish with scales cast their spawn, but those without scales, bring forth their young ones alive.



## C H A P. XIII.

*Of the birds and four-footed beasts of Java.*

**I**N the isles of Sumatra, Banda, and the other Molucca islands, is to be found a certain bird, called emen, or eme, by the inhabitants, and casnaris by the Dutch. He walks constantly with his head straight upright; he is about five feet high, and about three in length from the breast to the tail. The head is in proportion to the body, but small, very smooth, and of a dark blue colour. Before on the neck, hang two red teats or bags. The eyes are large and fierce; behind these are the ear-holes, and almost at the extremity of the bill two nostrils; from the midst of the bill to the crown of the head, grows a hard yellow substance like a cockle-shell, especially in the males. They have very long and thick legs, covered with a yellowish rough skin; their feet are thick, knobby, and without spurs, instead of which, they have on the forepart three long horny claws, in which they differ from the ostriches, whose feet are cloven both before and behind. They are covered all over with feathers, or rather with plumes, of a dark red mixed with black. Those upon the breast and thighs grow two and two together, but those on the tail are much longer and stronger.

Underneath the feathers, which grow on both sides, are hidden certain pins, which, by stimulating, serve them in running; for these birds are scarce able to raise themselves from the ground. They are exceedingly greedy, devouring every thing they meet with, even to iron and burning coals, all which they evacuate by the intestines without any alteration; nay, they

sometimes throw out what they have eat, in a year after, without the least signs of having digested it. For the rest, they live upon herbage. Their strength consists in their legs and feet; they run so fast, that no man can overtake them, and when exasperated, kick with their feet backwards and sideways like a horse. They lay greenish eggs upon the ground among the shrubs, scarce so big as our hen's egg, speckled with dark green spots. The yolks thereof are eaten by the inhabitants. These have neither tongue nor tail.

Among the several sorts of flitter mice, or bats, that which by some is called a flying cat, may well challenge a place. Its head, tail, nay the whole body and bulk resembling a cat. It differs from the bats in this, that whereas they hang on certain tacks, this hangs on its claws, and hides itself within its wings. The hair is of a brownish red colour, except on the back, where it is black. Betwixt the fore and hind legs, grow two membranes, a little hairy on the outside, which serve them for wings.

There is also found a sort of flying-apes; these have very sharp teeth and claws, and very lively eyes.

In some parts of the Indies, you meet with a certain bird called the hunter's bird. The breast and the whole body of it is black, but the tail is greyish. The head is dark yellow, but without feathers. Below the neck hangs a bag, not unlike those of our turkeys; the bill is distinguished by certain twisted rings, by which they discern their age, every year producing one, like our ox's horns. On the top of the bill, grows a horny substance; they are looked upon as a rarity, and sold at a dear rate.

In the isle of Mauritius, you meet with a certain bird called dromite by the inhabitants, and dodaers by



by the Dutch. In size, it is betwixt an ostrich and a large turkey, and has also some resemblance to them in his feathers and tail. His head is very large, not unlike that of a cuckoo; but covered all over with a skin. The eyes are large and black, the neck crooked and very thick. The bill is long, thick, and of a pale blue colour, except towards the extremities, the uppermost whereof is blackish, and the undermost yellowish: but both sharp and bent. He is very thick and round of body, covered with soft grey feathers, like those of the ostrich. The belly and hindermost part are so thick, as to touch almost the ground, which is the reason he is easily caught. On both sides, he has certain quills instead of wings, of a pale yellow hue, and instead of the tail, five curled plumes of the same colour. His legs are short and thick, with four large claws. The meat, especially that of the breast, is fat and toothsome enough, and three or four of these creatures afford a meal for one hundred persons. In his stomach is sometimes found a porous hard stone.

The paraquitos are of a green colour, of the bigness of a starling; their bills are yellow, the neck red, mixed with green, and the wings yellow at the extremities. They are found in vast numbers in the woods, and are easily tamed and taught to speak. There are divers sorts of them, of different colours.

The martins here are as big as our magpies, of a black colour, with a yellow bill, and a yellow tuft upon the head. The middle part of the wings is white, the feet yellow, with large crooked claws. The Javaneſe are great admirers of this bird, and teach him to whistle and speak, which he does as distinctly as a man, but with ſomewhat a rougher voice. There is another ſort of them not ſo big

as these, found all over the Indies, which feed upon rice and other fruits of the earth.

The Indian crows are of a pale blue, in shape between a heron and stork. The head and neck is somewhat of a dark colour, with a curled tail and sharp bill. They live most in wildernesses, and make excursions, as they say, sometimes as far as Europe, under a certain chief, which flies sometimes before and sometimes behind.

The bird rubus is of the bigness of a starling, with a blue bill and legs, the back and tail red, and white and black wings. The head is green, and in his tail he has two large feathers, like the paradise birds.

In divers parts of the Indies, are very large bats, exceeding in bigness our cats. In the isle of Java, are some of the ordinary sort, no bigger than a pigeon; they live in the woods, and are accounted a dainty by the Javanese. In the night-time, they will get sometimes into the chambers, if the windows be left open, and draw blood from such as are asleep there.

There are two sorts of the bird called gwira; both which are white, mixed with some brown feathers. One sort has a red belly, and the other a blue tail with one very long feather in it.

The poero is a long but slender bird, of a span in length, including the bill and tail. The bill is somewhat crooked, and the tail like that of the bird gwira. His feathers are bluish, mixed with yellow, and his feet very small. He feeds upon pismires.

In Java, you meet often with cormorants, not unlike our geese, except that they are much larger. Underneath their bill, hangs a large bag, which they can extend and draw together at pleasure, and in it they keep such fish as they have swallowed. Their feet are like those of the swan, and their bills are crooked



crooked towards the extremities. They are so greedy after prey, that they rush out from among the flags with such violence, that they are easily taken. They swallow oysters with the shells, and keep them in their bags till they open, when they spew them out again, and pick out the oysters. They are frequently found in the island of Din Ding, and soon discovered by their noise.

All over the Indies, you meet with ducks in great numbers, resembling ours both in size and taste. They are generally of a dark yellow colour, with black bills and legs, large bellies, and tufts on their heads. But whereas the West India ducks have hanging bellies, these carry them more upright. By reason of the excessive heat they are not easily brought to sit upon their eggs, which are generally laid under hens, or fomented in horfedung or ovens. Their meat is very wholesome provided they are well fed.

The wide-bill has got his name from his bill, which reaches up on both sides to the eyes. He is scarce of the bigness of a pigeon, of a pale black colour, with black wings, and underneath the eyes and bill he is white. They are brought to market in great quantities at Batavia, their meat being well tasted.

The strand bird is a kind of snipe, of the bigness of our woodcocks. Their feathers are green mixed with black; they are sold in great numbers at Batavia; and in taste are not unlike our wood-snipes.

The Indian turtles are not altogether so big as ours, and of a yellowish colour, mixed with grey. They have a black feather in each wing; under the neck they are somewhat brighter, and the breast almost red. They are taken in great quantities in the rice fields, and are fat and well tasted.

The

The Indian geese are much finer and larger than those of Europe, resembling rather our swans; their necks being excessive long, of a yellowish colour, but their bills black. Along the back, upon the wings and tail, they have dark grey feathers mixed with some light ones; but on the belly they are white. They have not so shrill a voice as our geese, but differ not in the least from them either in shape or taste; their feet being likewise red. They have both wild and tame ones.

In divers places of the Indies, are great quantities of birds of prey, as eagles, hawks, kites, and such like, which do prodigious mischief both among the wild and tame fowl, and are of such strength, that they carry sometimes young pigs away, and devour them in the woods among the rocks.

There is a certain bird of prey here which you see moving in the air without stirring its wings; and another called jin by the Chinese, exceeding all the rest in nimbleness. It is greenish on the back, but white on the belly. The eyes are quick and red, and the bill yellow, bent like a hook at the end. Their feet are likewise yellow, armed with long and very sharp claws.

The kobby is the least of all the birds, being no bigger than a horse-fly. It has a very sharp bill, wherewith it sucks its sustenance out of the flowers, tho' some are of opinion it feeds upon the dew. It has all the colours of the rainbow, and its wings are not unlike those of pigeons or ducks. It builds a nest to the south, under the branches of orange, lemon, or cotton trees, to defend itself against the injuries of the north winds. Its eggs are no bigger than pease. There is another which sings exceeding fine, but is not so well coloured; it weighs not above twenty-four grains.

The



The kokoy is a kind of heron, but much exceeding ours in beauty, being yellow before and green behind. On the head, it has a delicious plume, spreading all over the neck. The young ones eat tolerably well, but the old ones are tough and have a fishy taste.

In the woods of Java, you see vast numbers of birds not unlike our quails, but of the bigness of a wild pigeon. Their bills are however somewhat longer than those of quails, and their noise is very different. They are of so cold a constitution, that if exposed on the ground, they are in danger of perishing; for which reason, they hide themselves, covered with their wings, in the hollows of trees, immediately after sun-set, and at sun-rising come forth again, and begin to chirp with great cheerfulness.

#### C H A P. XIV.

*Of the birds, &c. of Java continued.*

**T**HE Indian quails resemble those of Europe, are brown on the back, and blue on the belly. They have a yellow bill and four claws, viz. three before and one behind; they do not make any noise, but are very good meat.

The rice bird is of the bigness of one of our pullets, but something longer legged, with brown feathers on the body, a red head, and very large claws. They live among the rice, whence they take their name, and are delicious food when roasted.

In many parts of the Indies are also pheasants with long and pointed tails; some are white on the breast and about the eyes.

They have prodigious numbers of butterflies of various colours, having long bills, which they can stretch out, when they suck the juice of the flowers,

ers, or draw back at pleasure. Some of them are of a most beautiful colour, intermixed with blue, white, and red, beyond what can be expressed. They are generally of the bigness of the palm of the hand, when their wings are spread. Some have larger wings than others, and have two small feathers on their heads.

The Indian wood pigeons are of the bigness of our tame pigeons, with brown spots on their backs, a white belly, purple coloured breast, and red feet; when tamed they will breed in houses, are not unlike our turtle doves, being very delicate roasted, and living mostly in the woods.

Indian pullets are generally white, with bright red combs on their heads, long red tails, and feet covered with feathers; they were first brought hither from Sium and Batavia, and eat well, being about the size of a common tame pigeon. In this island, there is also a kind of fowl with the feathers pointing towards the head instead of the tail; and another sort covered intirely with feathers.

About Batavia, and many other parts of the Indies, abundance of herons are to be seen in the low grounds. They are in bigness the same with our herons, with long grey feathers and black wings. They are generally seen near the water side, looking for prey; they build their nests in trees; the meat of them being tough, and tasting of fish.

The jumpers have got their names from their continually moving from branch to branch. They are of the same bigness with black birds, and will whistle like them. They have a black head, wings, and tail, but are white on the breast and belly. Our author has seen them kept at Batavia with a chain on one leg for diversion, and they



they feed them with boiled rice. They are easily tamed.

The stock-doves are in shape and bigness like our pigeons, but of a much finer colour. The neck and breast are green, the rest of the body purple coloured; the tail and wings blue, with a white edge. They are caught in great numbers in the woods near Batavia, and eat very well roasted.

The gold-finches here are very agreeable for their fine coloured feathers, being for the rest no longer than our linnets or gold-finches. Their bill is of a pale red, the head white, the back and wings blue, the belly red, and the tail dark blue. They are taken in prodigious great quantities near Batavia, and sometimes kept in cages. They feed upon rice.

At Batavia you see often large scorpions, of a quarter of a yard long, but those of a lesser size are so frequent, that you can scarce move a stool, bench, chest, lookinglass, or picture, without being in danger of being stung by them, unless you be very careful to avoid them. The small ones are about a fingers length, composed of many joints, of the thickness of a goose quill. They are yellow, speckled with brown streaks. Before, they have two claws with two sharp pincers; their tail is long, and lies turned upon the back, at the end of which is the sting, wherewith they poison such as they touch. They have eight long legs, not unlike those of a cray-fish. The sting of a scorpion is accounted mortal, unless prevented in a little time; tho' some are of opinion that the scorpions in the Indies are not so venomous as those of Italy and Spain. A scorpion bruised to death, or stifled in oil, and applied to the wound, draws out the poison. They say that a radish sliced, and laid upon a scorpion, kills him in a minute. They have

have also another story, viz. that the scorpion is sometimes so pestered with pismires, that he stings himself to death in the head with his tail; and so becomes a prey to the pismires.

The millepedes are about five or six inches long, of the thickness of a man's finger, of a rusty colour, and composed of many joints and bones. They have two claws or pincers, wherewith they wound as dangerously as the scorpions; occasioning such violent pain as it is almost unspeakable. The cure is performed by stifling them with oil, like the scorpions, and they are generally found, like them, in holes, and behind benches.

Both the East and West Indies produce snakes of divers sizes and colours. Among others, they have a certain sort in the isle of Java, not exceeding a foot in length, which are frequently met with in the fields among the grass. They have others with large shining scales on the back, and eyes so bright, that in a sun-shiny day you may see them at a great distance. Others are so full of spots, that they are terrible to behold. Besides these, they have another kind of snakes much lesser than the field snakes; these dwell in houses, and feed upon flies, ants, and other insects. They will stick so close to wall or roof, as if they were immoveable; but no sooner perceive their prey, but they shoot down all on a sudden to catch it. The tail of a snake separated from the body, will grow to it again. These snakes are not in the least pernicious, and will pass over the bare faces of persons sleeping in their chambers, without doing the least harm.

In the woods of Java, as likewise in the fens and pools, is found a certain sort of snake, or rather crocodile, called legoaen by the Indians. It resembles altogether a crocodile, except that it is less, being not above five or six feet long; where-



as crocodiles are from fifteen to twenty feet. The Javanese however affirm, that those in the mountains are much larger. They have a knobby green skin, but the meat is white, like that of our rabbits, and very well tasted. They have a long head, wide mouth, and a tail as long as the whole body; each leg has four paws armed with sharp and long claws.

In the woods of Java, are certain flying snakes; they have four legs, a long tail, and their skin speckled with many spots. Their wings are not unlike those of bats, which they move in flying, but otherwise keep them almost unperceived close to the body. They fly nimbly, but cannot hold it long. On the outside of the throat are two bladders, which, being extended when they fly, serve them instead of a sail. They feed upon flies and other insects. The Javanese do not in the least account them poisonous, but handle them just like the common snakes, without the least danger.

The frogs here are about the same bigness with ours, of a dark yellow colour, with brown spots. They are sold daily in the markets of Batavia, the Chinese accounting them a dainty, but they eat only the hindermost parts. There is another sort of frogs in Java near as big as a rabbit, but these are not eaten. They make a noise like the bellowing of an ox.

The fire-flies have got their name, because they appear in the dark, shining like a light; and are caught by means of a fire or candle, thro' which they will fly till they are taken. They are about an inch broad and long, and sometimes bigger. The head, which is brown, has two small horns, the neck is red, but their hard wings brown, underneath which, they have two softer wings, which they make use of in flying; and then it is you discover that shining substance which is contained

tained in a black bladder on their backs, which they hide with their wings whilst they are not a flying. In the rainy season, they dwell in prodigious numbers among the trees, and draw their chief sustenance from the blossom. There are divers sorts of them.

The horse-flies here are a pernicious insect, which sting most furiously. They are about two inches broad and long, of a brown colour, with a yellow streak along the body. They build their nests very curiously on the roof or rafters, as the wasps do on the sprigs of trees: in these they lay their eggs and hatch their young ones. They feed upon fruits, and emit a most nauseous scent when killed.

The kakkerlakken are so called by a corrupted name from the Portuguese word kakalakkas, because their eggs are both in colour and smoothness like to the lacca. They are much of the same bigness with the horse-flies, of a brown colour, with two long horns on the head. They both run and fly very nimbly, and are very pernicious, there being no chest or trunk so strong but they will gnaw thro' it. They are also to be found in ships, tho' newly built, in their way from Europe; especially at the time of their passing under the line; when the lice die, these begin to appear; and in their return, as soon as they are passed the line again, and the lice appear, these begin to vanish by degrees. They are very pernicious to paper, linen, and woollen cloaths.

The jakalet is a mischievous insect, but only in the lower parts of the houses, delighting in moist ground.

About Batavia you find a kind of locusts of a finger's length, but no thicker than a pen or goose-quill, distinguished by divers joints. They walk upon six feet, and have two small horns. The  
locusts



locusts here are however of divers kinds; some are yellow on the belly, with brown wings, and two horns on the head. They can leap a great way, and fly together in great numbers. There is another sort of the same shape, but green, and of a finger's length. These come sometimes in such prodigious swarms, that they darken the sky as they pass, and devour all in those parts where they settle, so that the inhabitants are often obliged to change their habitations for want of sustenance, as it has happened frequently in China, and the isle of Jajowak.

The blister-drawers are so called, because when they sting they raise blisters. They are of divers sorts, varying both in colour and bigness, but commonly of the length and breadth of a finger. They have very large eyes, and delight in marshy places. They are most frequent at Batavia in October and November.

There is here a kind of hornets, that have a certain claw like a pincer on the head, wherewith they pinch to that degree, that they will not let go their hold, unless you cut off their heads. They are of divers sorts, bigness, and shape, some being above five five inches long, of a dark brown colour. They have double wings; the uppermost are hard, the undermost soft; the last they make use of in flying, the others being only for the defence of the undermost ones. They feed upon herbs, and the fruits of certain trees, which they know how to chuse among all the rest.

Of ants or pismires, there are in Java, and throughout all the Indies, prodigious quantities of divers sorts. Some of them are above a finger in length, of a ruddy colour, inclining to black; some with, others without wings. They are very pernicious to the fruits of the earth, and, even in the houses, scarce any thing can be preserved  
against

against them without a great deal of care. It is observable, that an ant meeting another with something in her mouth, will give way to her, if she be not loaden herself.

The gardens about Batavia are extremely pestered with caterpillars about five inches long, with long brown horns standing upright on their heads. The head and whole body is yellowish, but the wings inclining to a green, spotted with yellow. They feed upon herbs and leaves, like the locusts.

Schrankels or knobs is an insect that takes its name from the knotty composition of its body, which, as well as the feet, is of a pale green colour. It has two fore legs covered with a hard shell, like a crab or cray-fish. It seems to be a kind of locust, and feeds upon greens, but can neither fly nor run very fast. There is another kind, with a monstrous head and neck, and a thick body; on the hindmost part of which are two small pins like thorns. The fore-feet are inclosed in a hard shell, and of a very odd shape. It has two wings, but can scarce fly by reason of the weight of its body.

There are many sorts of spiders in the Indies, and of a very different size; some are above four inches long, and have very thick legs. Others have eight feet, a thick speckled body, and round head, with brown eyes. These have two teeth bent like hooks, wherewith they bite fiercely. Our author has seen toothpicks that have been made of their teeth.



## C H A P. XV.

*Account of the four-footed beasts of Java concluded.*

**T**HE lynx is a fierce creature, of the bigness of a large dog, and in shape seems to participate both of the dog and cat. He is of a brown colour, checquered with red, with black streaks. His tail is very short and the ears very black. He lives upon prey, and is extremely nimble.

The sukotyro, as the Chinese call it, is a very odd shaped beast. It is of the bigness of a large ox, with a snout like a hog, two long rough ears, and a thick bushy tail. The eyes are placed upright in the head, quite different from other beasts. On the side of the head next to the eyes, stand two long horns or rather teeth, not quite so thick as those of the elephant. It feeds upon herbage, and is but seldom taken.

On the Cape of Good Hope, but especially in the isle of Madagascar, are certain oxen with thick bunches upon their necks and shoulders, which being nothing but fat, is melted and used by the inhabitants like butter; but these oxen have not so great a quantity of suet about their kidneys as ours. The cows of this kind frequently bear two or three calves at a time.

The Macassar-fox has got his name from the isle of Macassar, where he is most found. He has an excessive long bushy tail, which stands upright, flat feet, long claws, and short ears.

In the isle of Java, are divers sorts of apes and monkeys, distinguished by peculiar names. Some are very small, others middle-sized, and others as big as a boy of eight years of age; such a one our author saw himself once at Batavia. In many parts  
of

of the Indies, where the inhabitants think it a crime to kill any living creature, they multiply to a prodigious degree, and are very tame. They live for the most part in woods, and feed upon fruits. Some are green, with a long beard and large eyebrows, like a man in years; some called cicatik by the Indians, have long bushy tails; for which reason, they are reckoned by some among the fox kind. There is another sort called faragose, with long tails, which they carry straight upright. Another sort are called deaths-heads by the Dutch, from their pale faces. The Suri monkeys are in bigness and shape not unlike a squirrel, but of a yellow colour. They have short and round ears, large eyes, and a large bushy tail, wherewith they can cover the whole body. They can leap at a great distance from tree to tree, and guide themselves with the tail so exactly, that they seem to fly. There is a certain sort of monkey or ape, not in the least mischievous: they are no bigger than a rat, but have a long tail which they carry upright. They have a green, soft, and woolly hair, somewhat inclining to grey about the eyes, and a little white on the feet; with short ears, a sharp mouth, and brown nose, the feet being like those of an ape; but these are very scarce. Those called fanguwyns are likewise of the bigness of a rat and very nimble. Their faces, heads, and ears are black, and the rest of the body of a chestnut colour, except that they have some dark yellow hair along the back. They have very long tails, feed upon fruits, and are very diverting.

The pismire-eater or ants bear is so called, because he feeds chiefly upon ants. There are three several sorts of them, the first is of the bigness of a young hog, the second somewhat lesser, and the third like a cat, but longer. They are all of a ruddy



ruddy colour like a fox, with a long sharp mouth, small ears, and a head like that of a pig.

Abundance of deer or stags are found in the forests of the Indies: they are easily to be tamed here; so that they will feed among the cattle. They are generally red, speckled with white, and much of the same bigness as ours. They have large ears, long legs, and are white underneath the belly. The horns of the male are wreathed towards the head, and brown and very hard towards the extremities. Their flesh is very well tasted. With the deer-skins, a great traffic used to be carried on in the isle of Tayawan, whilst the Dutch were masters of it; who were wont to take many thousands of them only for their skins sake, which were sold to the Japonese; and scarce to preserve any part of their flesh, except the tongue, which is accounted a dainty here.

About Batavia, and in the woods of Java, are abundance of iron pigs or porcupines. They grunt like hogs, and are covered with variegated pens or quills, whence they got their name. They are of different sizes, some of the bigness of a large dog, but somewhat longer and more short-legged. They are generally brown, with a grey tuft on the head and a mouth like a hare, with two great teeth both below and above, like a horse, the two fore-feet like those of a deer; and the hindmost like a bear. The pins or pegs are very sharp, a foot long, and checquered with black and white. When they are at rest, they lay them close to the body, but if they are provoked, they can, by contracting themselves, cast them forth with such strength, that they kill man or beast; thus some years ago, a dead lyon was found at the Cape of Good Hope, with a porcupine's pen sticking in his body, where-with he had doubtless been killed. In the winter

ter they retire into holes, where they remain without either eating or drinking. They feed upon herbs and roots, and cast their pens as other creatures do their hair. In the stomachs of some of these animals, grows a certain stone, which by reason of its sudorific quality, is accounted very good in pestilential fevers; just as the stone found in the vesica biliaris or gall-bladder of the wild boar, is reputed the most sovereign remedy in that distemper, called *morderi* by the Javanese, and as much dreaded among them as the plague in Europe, because it commonly kills in a few hours.

There are several sorts of hogs in the Indies, some with, but the most without hair. Hogs flesh is accounted wholesomer and better than beef or mutton, and is by the Chinese prescribed even for sick persons. The wild boars feed upon what fruits or roots they can meet with, and a considerable number of them were seen by our author to swim cross the water, in the isle Din Ding, near Malacca, in search of provisions.

In the gall-bladder of the Indian wild boar, grows a certain porous stone, called thence *pedra da puerco*; i. e. hog's stone, by the Portuguese. It is sudorific, and efficacious in malignant distempers. They steep it in wine for twelve hours, and give the infusion to the patients; or they give the quantity of twenty-five grains powdered in wine. Women with child must be cautious of it, because it makes them miscarry, it being a general opinion among the Malayan women, that they can procure their monthly terms with only holding this stone in their hands.

The Javanese sheep are much of the same bigness as ours, some being white, others pyed, white and red, with short legs, and little or no wool. Their meat is not so good as the European



pean mutton, pork being much preferred before it here. The sheep have sometimes teats hanging below their throats like some of our hogs; others have such long ears, that you may tie them together underneath the throat. Others have tails of twenty, thirty, or forty pounds, being one lump of fat, which eats best boiled. Some have plain hair like our goats, others a curled wool, like our sheep, and are milked like cows.

The goats here are not near so big as the sheep, nor is their flesh so well tasted; tho' the kids in some parts of the Indies afford excellent good meat. Some are white, some pyed, and have generally long hair. Others have very long ears, and horns standing upright on the head. In some places, they bear three or four young ones at a time. They make cheese of their milk.

The bouffles are bulkier and stronger than an ordinary ox. They have no hair, their flesh is very good, but not so juicy nor so digestible as beef; for which reason it is most used among the slaves and other labouring people. Their horns lie close to the head, some of them are black, and, when polished, are converted to several useful purposes. The tame bouffles are used in the sugar-mills, plough, and cart. They guide them by means of a chain drawn thro' their nostrils. Their milk is accounted very wholesome. The wild bouffles that live in the forests are very fierce, and not easy to be taken.

Many places of the Indies afford oxen and cows, the flesh whereof, as well as the milk and butter, is very good; some are red, others white, others pyed, and of several colours. Some have horns standing upright on the head, others crooked horns like ours; and others long ears hanging downwards. However, the beef is much better in some places than in others. It is generally eaten

eaten fresh, because it will scarce take salt well in this hot climate, and is not to be kept above three or four days. They bring a certain kind of oxen from Suratte to Batavia, not much bigger than a large dog, which looks very fierce; nevertheless, they are used in small carts to draw children, and sometimes merchant's goods.

The horses here are of different sorts and colours, some black, others of a chesnut-colour, and others white and grey. The Javanese horses are not very tall, but thick and well set, like the Norwegian or Westphalian horses, very strong and hardy; but are not near so high spirited as the Persian horses, that are transported from Suratte to Batavia, and excel all the rest in swiftness, courage, and beauty. The Indians fight for the most part on foot, and preserve their horses for the draught and travelling.

Thus much of the isle of Java, and city of Batavia. We will now proceed to give an account of our author's third and last voyage to the East Indies.

## CH A P.



## C H A P. XVI.

*Mr. John Nieuhoff's last voyage to the East Indies,  
and his death.*

**M**R. John Nieuhoff having embarked on board a ship in the Dutch East India company's service, called the Arrow, they passed by the French coast the 18th of December, and cast anchor in the Table-Bay April the 8th, 1672. Here they met with seventeen vessels, thirteen of which were bound from the East Indies for Holland, and accordingly set sail the 24th. The Arrow had on board a large shallop or boat, which being taken to pieces before they left Amsterdam, was now set together again for its more convenient passage along the shore of Sofala, Mosambique, and the island of Majotte.

In this shallop, to which they gave the name of the Bow, they embarked, and in company of the Arrow, prosecuted their voyage towards the isle of Madagascar, which they got first sight of the 20th. They kept along the coast, which was high and rocky, and near a large point of land, found twenty fathom water, at a league's distance from the shore. They were then in twenty-four degrees, and being by reason of the land wind, obliged to advance sometimes nearer the shore, sometimes to keep at sea, they at last cast anchor in thirty fathom. Three leagues from the shore they could find no bottom. The bow afterwards followed the Arrow, but kept closer to the shore.

The 22d, they discovered a small isle not above half a league from the shore, where the Arrow came to anchor in seventeen fathom. They went  
a fishing,

a fishing, and brought back along with them two canoes belonging to the inhabitants, laden with coco-nuts and water-lemons. The Bow having failed before, and come to anchor in the bay of St. Austen, near a small isle, the Arrow followed her thither, and found at the mouth of the river two white points of land jetting out into the sea.

The inhabitants brought some fruits aboard them, and Mr. Hugo and Mr. Nieuhoff went ashore the next day, to see whether they could traffic with them; but could only exchange a few slaves. However, Mr. Nieuhoff caught abundance of fish at the mouth of the river.

The 2d of July, the Bow failed within the mouth of the river to refit, having received some damage. They endeavoured to catch some tortoises, but could not take any. About noon, the captain of the Madagascarians came on board to exchange some slaves; and on the 7th, the Bow, in which was Mr. Nieuhoff, and the Arrow separated, the first some leagues to the north, but were to meet again at the island of Majotte; which they did soon after, and on the 15th of August, entered a river near the isles of Makandarie and Magalagie, where they met a boat, from which they got some pullets, and were informed that provisions were plenty farther north. On the 24th, Mr. Nieuhoff failed in the Bow, up the river Megelagie, where he saw several Moorish ships, and an English vessel with slaves on board, bound to Barbadoes.

On the 31st, he carried ashore with him several commodities, with a view of trafficking, but could make no bargains, the people holding up the price of slaves very high, and seeming to make light of his wares. In two days after, he endeavoured to sell them some cloves, of which purchase, the king had



had seemed desirous; his mind, however, was now changed, and the natives having spitefully stirred up the ponds whence they were wont to bring their fresh water, which, by this piece of malice, was rendered muddy and unfit for use; our author quitted this part of the river and cast anchor on the west side of the bay, where he made a purchase of twenty-two slaves, several sheep, cows, and other provisions; he was also supplied with plenty of good water, being resolved to proceed thirty or forty leagues farther north; they left this place September the 22d, and found themselves on the 29th, off Conquifo, near which lie five islands in latitude thirteen degrees thirteen minutes, the middlemost of these islands may be seen far off at sea.

It was here that some fishermen having pointed out to Mr. Nieuhoff the residence of the king, he went ashore in the bay of Antegoa, by some called Murderer's bay, carrying with him some goods to trade; but as he never was heard of afterwards, it is supposed he fell a victim to the barbarity of the natives. The Bow, which was the vessel that had landed him there, waited three days for him upon the coast, without having received the smallest intelligence relative to him or his company.

After this loss, which every person in the interest of the Dutch East India company had reason to regret, the Bow and Arrow steered for the Cape of Good Hope, their crews, in their passage, having been reduced to the greatest extremity, their allowance being for sometime only one spoonful of rice for every man in twenty-four hours. These vessels were but coldly received on their arrival at the Cape, and the master of the Bow was discarded, because he had not staid longer in expectation of Mr. Nieuhoff's return than he had done.

done. And the same ship was dispatched again thither to inquire after him, but the crew having mutinied, displaced their commander, sold the vessel to the French at Mosambique, and made their escape.

At the request of Mr. Henry Nieuhoff, brother to our author, the directors of the chamber of Amsterdam ordered a vessel to sail for the place where that unfortunate gentleman went ashore, purposely to inquire after him; the master of which ship returned to the Cape, after an absence of five months and eighteen days, with a cargo of two hundred and fifty slaves, of which he had made a purchase; he reported to the company that he had had a conference with the king of that place, who declared himself utterly ignorant of Mr. Nieuhoff's fate; and who was even a stranger to that gentleman's having been once ashore in his dominions; so that nothing is more probable than that he was massacred upon his first landing here. Mr. Nieuhoff was certainly worthy of a better fate; for in his private dealings, he was exact and honourable; and as a servant to the East India company, always manifested a care and integrity that endeared him to every body who knew him.

END of the FOURTH VOLUME.









